Constructed Historical Narratives: A Multi-Dimensional Critical Examination and the Development of a Seven-Dimensional Analytical Framework—The Case of Zhong Yiwan's Anti-Yuan Narrative

[Deng Yi] [1]

Abstract: This article systematically examines the constructed nature of the Zhong Yiwan anti-Yuan narrative through a multi-dimensional framework integrating institutional history, documentary criticism, spatiotemporal analysis, and textual stratification. By cross-verifying thirteen independent documentary systems and reconstructing Song administrative institutions, the study demonstrates that the attributed official titles, appointment mechanisms, and military trajectories cannot be substantiated within the institutional and evidential frameworks of the Song dynasty. Systematic documentary silence, combined with spatiotemporal contradictions and internal textual contradictions, points to the narrative as a later genealogical construction whose patterns of production closely resemble the mechanisms through which Ming–Qing lineage organizations accumulated ancestral capital. The study further proposes a seven-dimensional analytical framework for evaluating constructed historical narratives, offering a replicable methodology for the critical analysis of local historiographical traditions.

Keywords: Zhong Yiwan (鍾宜萬); Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄); Multi-Dimensional Cross-Verification Method; Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives; Construction of Historical Memory

0. Introduction

0.1 Research Background and Problem Statement

Narratives of loyalty and righteousness associated with the Song–Yuan dynastic transition occupy a highly symbolic position within China's historical memory. However, alongside the figures documented in official histories, local societies have also produced a number of "anti-Yuan loyalist" narratives that have not been subjected to rigorous historical verification. These narratives have been transmitted through genealogies, inscriptions, and modern channels of dissemination, with some even entering official cultural heritage protection systems, local gazetteers, and public discourse.

Zhong Yiwan, presented by the Yulin (玉林, Guangxi Province; formerly Yulin Zhou 鬱林州) Zhong lineage as a Southern Song loyalist who resisted the Yuan, represents one such case. The relevant narrative not only forms a complete textual system within the genealogy, but Zhong Yiwan's cemetery has also been designated as a local cultural heritage protection unit on the basis of his status as a historical figure, and continues to be disseminated through local gazetteers, official media and online platforms. Yet when this narrative is examined within the framework of historical scholarship, a significant tension emerges: the offices he is claimed to have held and the historical activities attributed to him are absent from multiple categories of historical sources. This contradiction between a narrative of high historical significance and a systematic absence of documentary evidence constitutes the central scholarly problem addressed in this study.

0.2 Review of Existing Scholarship and the Contribution of This Study

The present examination of the Zhong Yiwan narrative is built upon existing scholarship in institutional history, documentary criticism, and historical memory studies, while also advancing a methodological synthesis and refinement specifically oriented toward the

authenticity verification of constructed historical narratives. Existing studies have provided the foundational support for this paper in terms of institutional analysis, historical verification, and problem awareness. However, their research objectives and methodological boundaries do not fully coincide with the task of "authenticity judgment" undertaken in this study. It is therefore necessary first to clarify the contributions and limitations of existing scholarship, and then to explain why this methodological advancement is necessary and how it is developed in the present study.

(I) Institutional History and Documentary Criticism: Foundational Tools for Authenticity Verification

Existing scholarship on Song dynasty official institutions and the compilation of local historical sources provides the institutional reference and documentary support needed to verify the establishment and institutional status of official posts, appointment mechanisms, and activity records associated with the Zhong Yiwan narrative. Foundational texts such as the *Song Shi* (History of Song), *Jin Shi* (History of Jin), *Song Huiyao* (Collected Statutes of the Song Dynasty), and *Jianyan Yilai Xinian Yaolu* (Chronological Record of Important Events Since the Jianyan Era), together with specialized studies such as Wang Xiaolong's *Songdai Tidian Xingyu Si Zhidu Yanjiu* (A Study of the Tidian Xingyu Si System of the Song Dynasty), Deng Xiaonan's *Songdai Wenguan Xuanren Zhidu Zhucengmian* (Various Aspects of the Civil Official Selection System in the Song Dynasty), Gong Yanming's *Songdai Guanzhi Cidian (Zengbuben)* (Dictionary of Official Institutions of the Song Dynasty, Supplemented Edition), and Lü Zongli et al. 's *Zhongguo Lidai Guanzhi Da Cidian (Xiudingban)* (Comprehensive Dictionary of Official Institutions in Chinese Dynasties, Revised Edition), collectively provide the analytical foundation for examining the Tidian Xingyu Si (Judicial Intendancy) system and the norms governing civil official selection. Meanwhile, Fu Xuancong's *Song Dengke Ji Kao* (Examination of Successful Examination

Candidates of the Song Dynasty) and Zhai Guozhang's *Zhongguo Keju Cidian* (Dictionary of Chinese Imperial Examinations), together with local gazetteers from Guangxi and Guangdong, provide the comparative basis for verifying the identity and local activities of the figure in question. However, this body of scholarship is concerned primarily with institutional reconstruction and the compilation of historical sources in themselves, and does not directly address the authenticity of specific genealogical narratives. Moving from "whether something was institutionally possible" to "whether a particular narrative is historically tenable" requires integrating multiple categories of evidence—institutional, documentary, temporal, geographical, personal, textual, and logical—on the existing foundation, and establishing a comprehensive verification approach that cuts across institutional boundaries, documentary systems, and evidence types. This constitutes the methodological starting point for the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives proposed in this study.

(II) Historical Memory and Lineage Construction Studies: A Reference at the Explanatory Level

Distinct from the authenticity verification approach, recent research in historical memory, lineage construction, and historical anthropology—exemplified by the work of David Faure, Liu Zhiwei, He Xi, and Wang Mingke—focuses on how ancestral narratives are generated, transmitted, and socially recognized, providing an important reference for understanding the social mechanisms underlying the production of such narratives. The intellectual interest of these studies lies in the social function of narratives rather than the authenticity of individual cases. Consequently, their findings do not constitute the methodological basis of the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives. Rather, they constitute a theoretical resource, after the authenticity judgment has been made, for explaining why the Zhong Yiwan narrative was produced, how

it spread, and why it tended toward consolidation. This is precisely the reference framework upon which the analysis of “ancestral capital” in Chapter 6 is based. Authenticity verification and sociohistorical interpretation are not two separate and isolated sets of inquiry, but rather belong to two distinct levels—evidentiary judgment and mechanism explanation. One must first determine whether the narrative is historically tenable and then explain why it was generated, how it spread, and why it became consolidated. These two levels are sequentially connected and mutually irreplaceable, jointly constituting the complete chain of argumentation in this study, from “verification” to “interpretation.”

(III) Methodological Advancement of This Study

On this foundation, the methodological advancement of this study takes three forms. First, it moves from individual-source evidentiary examination to cross-validation across multiple sources, constructing a replicable Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives that integrates established methods of institutional history and documentary criticism into a systematic verification tool. Second, it specifies the conditions under which “documentary silence” can be transformed into counter-evidence and, through the consistent absence of records across thirteen independent documentary systems, enhances the probative force of negative evidence. Third, after the authenticity verification is completed, it introduces the concept of “ancestral capital” to explain, from a sociohistorical perspective, the mechanisms by which constructed narratives are generated, transmitted, and consolidated. The first two of these constitute methodological innovations in authenticity judgment and form the core contribution of this study; the third belongs to the explanatory level of analysis after the judgment has been made. These two analytical levels—the level of authenticity judgment and the subsequent explanatory level—are sequentially connected rather than mutually substitutable, and together constitute the complete argumentative structure of this study.

0.3 Research Stance and Principles

The present study hereby states its research stance clearly: Scholarly refutation does not amount to a denial of local communities' emotional attachment to their historical traditions; the critical examination of a constructed narrative does not amount to questioning the existence of a lineage; and the analysis of the mechanisms through which a narrative is textually constructed does not constitute a moral judgment of the individuals associated with that narrative. This study is purely an exercise in historical inquiry, intended to clarify historical truth, and is not intended to deny the cultural value or social contributions of the Zhong lineage. The study adheres to four principles. First, the principle of evidentiary priority, whereby all judgments are grounded in verifiable historical sources. Second, the principle of logical consistency, avoiding circular reasoning and selective use of evidence. Third, the principle of cultural respect, maintaining a clear distinction between scholarly criticism and moral condemnation. Fourth, the principle of openness to revision, welcoming the testing of new evidence and scholarly criticism. The primary aim of this study is not the denial of a particular historical figure, but the development of a generalizable analytical framework.

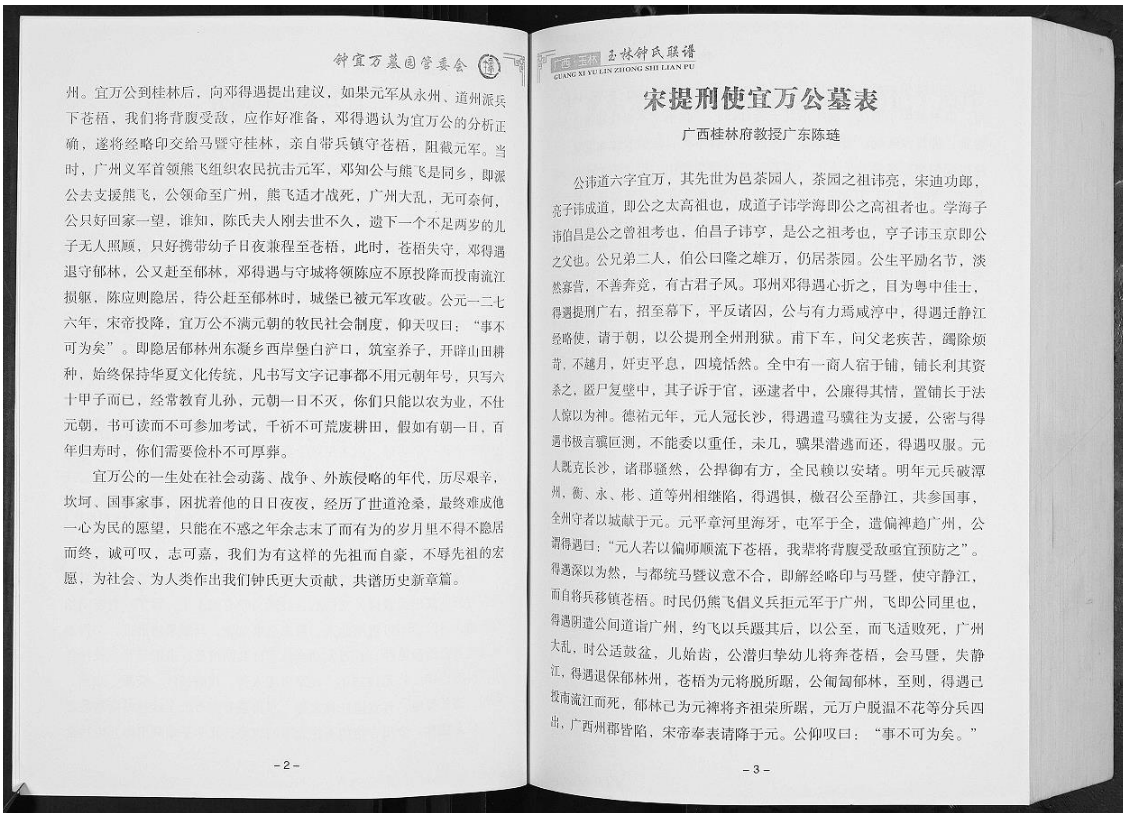
1. Systemic Contradictions in the Core Narrative and the Research Framework

1.1 The Zhong Lineage's "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" (宋提刑使宜萬公墓表), Cemetery Records, Tombstone (mubei 墓碑), the Basis for Yulin City's Cultural Heritage Designation, and Reports Published on the Yulin Municipal CPPCC Website.

I. In order to establish the textual foundation for the analyses that follow, it is first necessary to identify the core source of the Zhong Yiwan narrative. According to the *Mubiao of Zhong Yiwan, Song dynasty Tixingshi* (*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* 宋提刑使宜萬公墓表, hereafter "*Mubiao*") contained in the 2017 edition of the Yulin Zhong Clan Genealogy (see

Figures 1–2), the *Mubiao* constructs a relatively complete historical narrative centered on the conferral of office, anti-Yuan activities, and routes of movement. Among its key elements, the official designation “Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu” (提刑全州刑獄), the appointment process through Deng Deyu’s recommendation, and the narrative of traveling from Cangwu to reinforce Xiong Fei in Guangzhou constitute the principal subjects of institutional, documentary, and spatiotemporal examination in the chapters that follow.

Owing to the length of the original text, only those passages directly relevant to the present argument are quoted in the main body of this study. The complete text is reproduced in Appendix A.



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州。宜万公到桂林后，向邓得遇提出建议，如果元军从永州、道州派兵下苍梧，我们将背腹受敌，应作好准备，邓得遇认为宜万公的分析正确，遂将经略印交给马暨守桂林，亲自带兵镇守苍梧，阻截元军。当时，广州义军首领熊飞组织农民抗击元军，邓知公与熊飞是同乡，即派公去支援熊飞，公领命至广州，熊飞适才战死，广州大乱，无可奈何，公只好回家一望，谁知，陈氏夫人刚去世不久，遗下一个不足两岁的儿子无人照顾，只好携带幼子日夜兼程至苍梧，此时，苍梧失守，邓得遇退守郁林，公又赶至郁林，邓得遇与守城将领陈应不原投降而投南流江损躯，陈应则隐居，待公赶至郁林时，城堡已被元军攻破。公元一二七六年，宋帝投降，宜万公不满元朝的牧民社会制度，仰天叹曰：“事不可为矣”。即隐居郁林州东凝乡西岸堡白浐口，筑室养子，开辟山田耕种，始终保持华夏文化传统，凡书写文字记事都不用元朝年号，只写六十甲子而已，经常教育儿孙，元朝一日不灭，你们只能以农为业，不仕元朝，书可读而不可参加考试，千祈不可荒废耕田，假如有朝一日，百年归寿时，你们需要俭朴不可厚葬。

宜万公的一生处在社会动荡、战争、外族侵略的年代，历尽艰辛，坎坷、国事家事，困扰着他的日日夜夜，经历了世道沧桑，最终难成他一心为民的愿望，只能在不惑之年余志未了而有为的岁月里不得不隐居而终，诚可叹，志可嘉，我们为有这样的先祖而自豪，不辱先祖的宏愿，为社会、为人类作出我们钟氏更大贡献，共谱历史新章篇。

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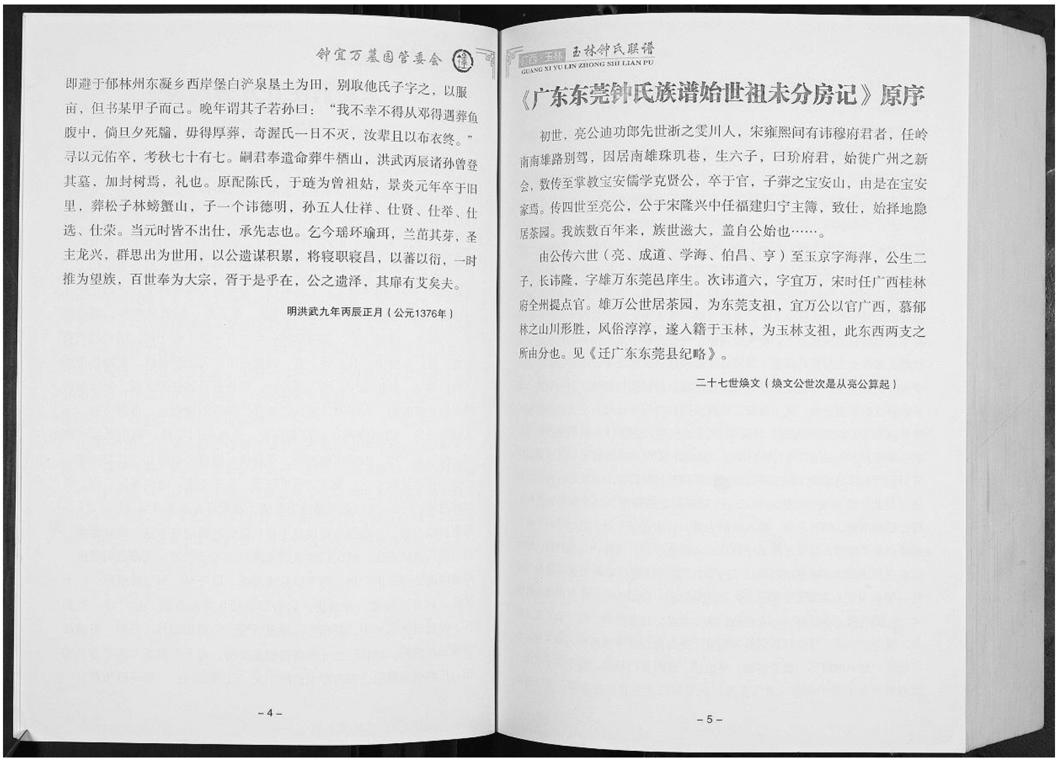
广西·玉林 玉林钟氏联谱
GUANG XI YU LIN ZHONG SHI LIAN PU

宋提刑使宜万公墓表

广西桂林府教授广东陈琏

公讳道六字宜万，其先世为邑茶园人，茶园之祖讳亮，宋迪功郎，亮子讳成道，即公之太高祖也，成道子讳学海即公之高祖者也。学海子讳伯昌是公之曾祖考也，伯昌子讳亨，是公之祖考也，亨子讳玉京即公之父也。公兄弟二人，伯公曰隆之雄万，仍居茶园。公生平励名节，淡然寡营，不善奔竞，有古君子风。邛州邓得遇心折之，目为粤中佳士，得遇提刑广右，招至幕下，平反诸囚，公与有力焉咸淳中，得遇迁静江经略使，请于朝，以公提刑全州刑狱。甫下车，问父老疾苦，蠲除烦苛，不越月，奸吏平息，四境恬然。全中有一商人宿于铺，铺长利其资杀之，匿尸复壁中，其子诉于官，逐逮者中，公廉得其情，置铺长于法人惊以为神。德祐元年，元人冠长沙，得遇遣马骥往为支援，公密与得遇书极言骥叵测，不能委以重任，未几，骥果潜逃而还，得遇叹服。元人既克长沙，诸郡骚然，公捍御有方，全民赖以安堵。明年元兵破潭州，衡、永、彬、道等州相继陷，得遇惧，檄召公至静江，共参国事，全州守者以城献于元。元平章河里海牙，屯军于全，遣偏裨趋广州，公谓得遇曰：“元人若以偏师顺流下苍梧，我辈将背腹受敌亟宜预防之”。得遇深以为然，与都统马暨议意不合，即解经略印与马暨，使守静江，而自将兵移镇苍梧。时民仍熊飞倡义兵拒元军于广州，飞即公同里也，得遇阴遣公间道诣广州，约飞以兵蹑其后，以公至，而飞适败死，广州大乱，时公适鼓盆，儿始齿，公潜归挈幼儿将奔苍梧，会马暨，失静江，得遇退保郁林州，苍梧为元将脱所踞，公匍匐郁林，至则，得遇己投南流江而死，郁林己为元裨将齐祖荣所踞，元万户脱温不花等分兵四出，广西州郡皆陷，宋帝奉表请降于元。公仰叹曰：“事不可为矣。”

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钟宜万墓园管委会

即避于郁林州东凝乡西岸堡白浐泉垦土为田，别取他氏子字之，以服亩，但书某甲子而已。晚年谓其子若孙曰：“我不幸不得从邓得遇葬鱼腹中，倘旦夕死牖，毋得厚葬，奇渥氏一日不灭，汝辈且以布衣终。”寻以元佑卒，考秋七十有七。嗣君奉遗命葬牛栖山，洪武丙辰诸孙曾登其墓，加封树焉，礼也。原配陈氏，于琏为曾祖姑，景炎元年卒于旧里，葬松子林螃蟹山，子一个讳德明，孙五人仕祥、仕贤、仕举、仕选、仕荣。当元时皆不出仕，承先志也。乞今瑶环瑜珥，兰茁其芽，圣主龙兴，群思出为世用，以公遗谋积累，将寝职寝昌，以蕃以衍，一时推为望族，百世奉为大宗，胥于是乎在，公之遗泽，其庳有艾矣夫。

明洪武九年丙辰正月（公元1376年）

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广西·玉林 玉林钟氏联谱
GUANG XI YU LIN ZHONG SHI LIAN PU

《广东东莞钟氏族谱始世祖未分房记》原序

初世，亮公迪功郎先世浙之雯川人，宋雍熙间有讳穆府君者，任岭南南雄路别驾，因居南雄珠玑巷，生六子，曰玠府君，始徙广州之新会，数传至掌教宝安儒学克贤公，卒于官，子葬之宝安山，由是在宝安家焉。传四世至亮公，公于宋隆兴中任福建归宁主簿，致仕，始择地隐居茶园。我族数百年来，族世滋大，盖自公始也……。

由公传六世（亮、成道、学海、伯昌、亨）至玉京字海萍，公生二子，长讳隆，字雄万东莞邑庠生。次讳道六，字宜万，宋时任广西桂林府全州提点官。雄万公世居茶园，为东莞支祖，宜万公以官广西，慕郁林之山川形胜，风俗淳淳，遂入籍于玉林，为玉林支祖，此东西两支之所由分也。见《迁广东东莞县纪略》。

二十七世焕文（焕文公世次是从亮公算起）

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Figures 1–2. The “Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao” (宋提刑使宜萬公墓表) as recorded in the Zhong lineage’s genealogical records.

II. The Records of Zhong Yiwan’s Cemetery (see Figure 3).Compared with the *Mubiao* text, the on-site cemetery account (full text reproduced in Appendix B) and later local sources largely retain the narrative framework established by the *Mubiao*, while exhibiting significant expansion and modification at the level of detail. These developments are mainly reflected in two aspects. First, the specification of chronology and events: the cemetery account introduces explicit dates (such as 1262, 1270, and 1275) and places greater emphasis on moral evaluation. Second, it incorporates folkloric elements into the narrative details. As some characters in the photographed inscription are difficult to decipher, the complete text has also been transcribed and reproduced in Appendix B for reference.



Figure 3. Zhong Family Records Concerning Zhong Yiwan, Preserved within Zhong Yiwan's Cemetery.

III. In the Zhong Yiwan Cemetery, the tombstone is dated "Gengxu, the 30th year of the Daoguang reign." The central inscription engraved on the tombstone states: "Tomb of Mr. Zhong, Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi, with the taboo name Daoliu and courtesy name Yiwan" (宋全州路提刑使諱道六字宜萬鍾公之墓) (Figures 4–5).





Figures 4–5. Tombstone of Zhong Yiwan, Erected in the Thirtieth Year of the Daoguang Reign (Gengxu Year, 1850).

IV. On page 1088 of the 1993 edition of the *Yulin City Gazetteer*, the “Cause and Relics” field in the Ancient Tomb Survey Table records: “Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si” (南宋全州路提刑使司) (Figure 6). Designated as a cultural heritage protection unit by Yulin County/City on April 8, 1996, and November 23, 1999, respectively (Appendix C, Figure 20).

一些古迹、古墓概况表

古迹名称	座落地点	始建朝代	起因者、遗物	占地面积（平方米）	备注
党州城址	荚酒乡党州村北约 200 米处	唐代	唐宋年间党州治所	15800	残缺不全
大平山古城遗址	大平山乡古城村	唐代	唐代平琴州容山县治所	14600	残缺不全
兴业县城址	石南镇北面	明洪武三年	县城所在地	12000	残缺不全
郁林古州址	石南镇韦鸣村	宋代	/	/	残缺不全
平山新村窑址	城隍镇平山新村	宋代	主要烧造青瓷器	分布面积 2400	残缺不全
岐阳岭冶铸遗址	龙安乡中村	宋代	现存残缺炼炉 3 座	6000	/
六鸦冶铸遗址	龙安乡六鸦村	宋代	炼铁炉一座	4000	保存较好
蓝靛加工遗址	成均乡井龙村约 30 米处	清	现存 10 多个蓝池	60	/
陈氏墓群	龙安乡六鸦村	元	藤州知陈应等古墓	300	/
钟宜万公陵墓	城北乡钟凤村牛栖山	元	南宋全州路提刑使司	100	保存完好
陶氏墓群	龙安乡新房地村南	元至明	郁林陶氏始祖三十六府君讳致元，官至刑部外郎	60	保存完好
陶成墓	仁东乡三山村	明	官至按察司副使	100	保存完整
黄左泉公陵墓	玉林城区新岭	明	官至奉政大夫	400	1987 年重修
莫氏墓群	石南镇北马岭	明	主墓为莫相夫妇合葬墓余为其父母之墓	360	保存完好
何以尚夫妇合葬墓	大平山乡高基村	明	官至南京太仆寺卿	180	1981 年重修

Figure 6. Entry for Zhong Yiwan under "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" (南宋全州路提刑使司) in the "Cultural Relics and Historic Sites" (Wenwu Shengji 文物勝蹟) section of the Yulin City Gazetteer (County Level) (玉林市志 (縣級)).

V. On 28 February 2017, the Yulin Municipal CPPCC website published a report entitled "*Deng Deyu, a Patriotic General of the Southern Song dynasty: The Zhonggong Shrine Was Built Because of Him, and Zhonggong Lane Was Named After It.*"[1]

[1]Anonymous. "*Deng Deyu, a Patriotic General of the Southern Song dynasty: Zhonggong Shrine Was Built in His Honor, and Zhonggong Lane Was Named After Him*" [EB/OL]. Yulin Municipal CPPCC website, February 28, 2017. http://www.rxjj.gov.cn/xinbanyulinzhengxiew/wszl/645129 (accessed December 11, 2025).



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文史资料

南宋爱国将领邓得遇：忠功祠因他而建，忠功里因它得名

2017-02-28 15:24 作者： 来源：政协玉林市委员会 【字体：大 中 小】 打印

邓得遇和陈应组织精兵三千人，制造五百道木梯，乘除夕晚月黑风高，潜上城头杀死谭道福的巡逻兵数百。谭道福眼见不妙，在数名护卫掩护下惊慌而逃。邓得遇向朝庭为陈应申功，陈应被封授为藤州知州。

但到底是孤掌难鸣，邓得遇最后还是兵败了。身为当时广西最高军事统帅的邓得遇既不愿苟且活着，又不忍看百姓涂炭，于德佑二年（公元1276年）5月5日，身穿官服向东方朝拜，提笔写下：“宋室忠臣，邓门孝子。不忍偷生，宁甘溺死。彭城故居，乃吾潭府。屈公子平，乃吾伴侣。悠哉游哉，死得其所。”的绝命诗，纵身跳进南流江，以身殉国。陈应则隐迹民间，隐姓埋名，誓不降元，也不仕元。

为了纪念这两名爱国英雄，弘扬他们坚贞不屈的气节，明朝洪武四年，鬱林知州赵天鉴在南流县修建了一座忠功祠以表纪念；清朝道光十八年（公元1838年）重修时，忠功祠迁移到了城南门内，也就是今天忠功里大水井边。忠功里因忠功祠而得名。

忠功祠在明清两个朝代中，均受到鬱林当地官员百姓的敬仰，每年春秋都由知州率官员及众百姓拜祭，仪式相当隆重。邓得遇的英雄事迹在鬱林的影响不亚于文天祥。

玉林钟姓后人为何祭拜邓得遇?

多年来，每到端午节，玉林陈氏和钟氏后人都会在南流江边点燃香烛，摆放粽子，祭拜缅怀南宋忠臣邓得遇。

玉林陈氏除了祭拜邓得遇外，还纪念他们的鼻祖陈应。而钟氏祭拜邓得遇，除感怀邓得遇的民族精神外，同时也是感恩邓得遇把他们的鼻祖钟宜万带上了抗击侵略者的英勇之路。

玉林钟氏鼻祖钟宜万，祖籍广东广州府茶园村，出身豪门。其静渊以有谋，疏通而知事，极具绅士气质，初为全州捕点官，深得邓得遇赏识，称其为“粤之优秀人士”，并将其招至幕下，委提刑知事。逾年，邓得遇擢升广西经略安抚使兼知静江府，钟宜万接充广西提点刑狱。

德祐元年（1275年）9月，元军大兵压境于长沙，广西边关告急，都统马骥率兵入援广西。钟宜万在这时看穿了马骥的狼子野心，他给邓得遇写了一封密书，言马骥言行异常，万不可委以重任。不久，“骥果潜遁而还，得遇叹服”（见桂林府教授陈琏《宋提刑使宜万公墓表》）。于是，邓得遇按军法把马骥斩首。未几，武卫将军马塈入援广西。12月，元派万户重金诱降，邓得遇和钟宜万不为所动。

德祐二年（1276年）初，元军攻占长沙后，邓得遇因与马塈议意不合，邓解经略印绶与马塈，自己与钟宜万率一千兵力移治南大门苍梧。由于苍梧兵力严重不足，为避免与敌人发生正面交锋，邓得遇遣钟宜万赴广州，与同乡熊飞的义兵协同作战，利用熟悉地形优势，牵制敌后方，阻缓了元军对苍梧的进逼。3月，熊飞战死。恰在这时，钟宜万妻亡，他回家料理后事。

后来，钟宜万背着儿子从苍梧来到鬱林，闻恩人邓得遇噩耗，又闻宋廷降元，顿觉无依无靠，万分悲痛，想去投靠在福州坚持抗元的文天祥，却又路途遥远，乃仰天长叹：“事不可为矣！”是年41岁的他于是就地在城北白产口山上筑庐隐居，植根生息，成为鬱林五属钟氏的始祖。

元延佑之年（1314年），钟宜万去世，临终还念念不忘恩人邓得遇，并嘱咐儿孙“吾不得同邓公葬鱼腹中”而不得厚葬自己，又叮嘱后人要学习邓公气节，不用元年号，不入元仕途，以布衣终老。

自此，每到端午节，钟氏后人都会在南流江边祭拜缅怀邓得遇，这个传统一直保留至今。据玉林钟氏宗亲会秘书长钟树源介绍，钟氏宗亲会打算和陈氏宗亲会、邓氏宗亲会一起，联手重建忠功祠，以弘扬邓得遇爱祖国，爱人民，坚持真理，宁死不屈的高尚道德情操。邓氏一族集会缅怀邓得遇公。清代重建的忠功祠位于这口古井旁。忠功里牌坊。

Figures 7–8. Screenshot of the Article “Southern Song Patriotic Commander Deng Deyu: Zhonggong Shrine (Zhonggong Ci 忠功祠) Built in His Honor, Zhonggong Lane (Zhonggong Li 忠功裡) Named After It,” Published on the Official Website of the Yulin Municipal Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) (accessed December 11, 2025).

It is noteworthy that the office designation attributed to Zhong Yiwan is not consistent across different textual carriers: the *Mubiao* records it as "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄), the Cemetery Record as "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" (廣西全州路提刑使司), the Daoguang-period Tombstone as "Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (宋全州路提刑使), the 1993 *Yulin City Gazetteer* (for cultural heritage protection designation) as "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" (南宋全州路提刑使司), and the Yulin Municipal CPPCC website as "Guangxi Tidian Xingyu" (Guangxi Judicial Intendant). The continuous evolution of these designations itself constitutes external evidence of the constructed nature of the narrative. "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" has no counterpart in the Song official system. The designation "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" in the *Yulin City Gazetteer* is a reworked formulation that combines the structure of "Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" from the Daoguang-period Tombstone with that of "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" from the Cemetery Record. "Guangxi Tidian Xingyu" represents a later revision that moves toward a formally attested Song-period office designation (see Section 5.1 for details). The subsequent institutional analysis adopts the Cemetery Record designation "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" as the benchmark text. This designation most fully synthesizes the features of the various narrative versions and, more importantly, is the one on which the official cultural heritage protection recognition was based. Consequently, it is selected as the benchmark for the item-by-item institutional examination in Chapter 2. The evolutionary trajectory and constructional implications of these designations are discussed in detail in Section 5.1.

1.2 Six Key Anomalies

At first reading, an ordinary reader may be impressed by the vivid details and tragic emotional tone of the narrative. However, when examined from the perspective of historical investigation, at least six major anomalies become apparent:

(1) Structural Contradictions in the Official System

The narrative combines the Ming-period administrative affiliation of Quanzhou, the Yuan-period circuit (lu 路) system, and the Jin-period official title "Tixingshi" (提刑使) into the composite designation "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (廣西全州路提刑使). No such office had any institutional basis within the administrative system of the Song dynasty.

(2) Clear Conflicts between the Appointment Process, Institutional Establishment, and Historical Reality.

The narrative claims that Deng Deyu memorialized the court to have Zhong Yiwan appointed as Judicial Intendant. In the Song dynasty, however, the Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄) was a circuit (lu 路)-level supervisory official who was appointed primarily by the central government. Deng Deyu himself served only as Judicial Intendant of Guangxi Circuit and was not a regional administrative official exercising authority beyond his own circuit; he therefore had no authority to recommend the appointment of another official of the same rank. Such a claim also contravenes the institutional staffing arrangement of the late Southern Song, under which each circuit was assigned only one civilian Judicial Intendant. Furthermore, Zhong Yiwan lacked the qualifications and status background required for appointment to this office.

(3) Zhong Yiwan's Claimed Imperial Examination Degrees and the Alleged Backgrounds of "Quanzhou Budianguan" (全州捕點官) and "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事) Lack Corresponding Documentary and Institutional Support.

Although the narrative states that Zhong Yiwan "came from a prominent family" (according to the genealogy, his father Zhong Yujing was said to have served in the Huguang Tijusi (湖廣提舉司), which was in fact the name of a Yuan-dynasty governmental agency rather than an official title, a point that will not be discussed further here), it remains silent regarding his imperial examination degrees. Yet given that after the Chunxi reign of Emperor

Xiaozong each circuit normally retained only one civil official serving as judicial intendant (tixing 提刑), an examination degree background was effectively required for appointment. However, a comprehensive search of *Song Dengke Ji Kao*, *Dictionary of Chinese Imperial Examinations*, *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, and other examination-related sources reveals no record of Zhong Yiwan (Daoliu). Likewise, the alleged positions of "Quanzhou Budianguan" (全州捕點官) and "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事) are absent from *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (*Quanzhou Zhi* 全州志), *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, and standard reference works on official titles and administrative institutions. Neither the offices nor the individual concerned can be found in these sources.

(4) Systematic Silence across Historical Sources, Including the *Qinxuan Ji* (琴軒集)

The narrative claims that Zhong Yiwan served as the so-called "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (廣西全州路提刑使) and participated in major anti-Yuan activities in Guangxi, Hunan, and Guangdong. Yet no corresponding record can be found in official histories, inscriptions (stele inscription 碑文), local gazetteers, collected writings, the *Qinxuan Ji* (Qinxuan Collection), or related documentary systems. Such sustained and systematic silence is highly unusual.

(5) The Threefold Logic of the Spatiotemporal Narrative Cannot Be Sustained.

The anti-Yuan trajectory constructed by the narrative exhibits systematic contradictions at the levels of chronology, geography, and military plausibility, rendering it incompatible with the established historical record.

(6) Narrative Evolution and the Textual Traces of a Patchwork Construction

The narrative lacks a fixed and historically verifiable core, and its various versions have undergone continual revision and transformation. Its structure exhibits clear characteristics of textual collage (pintie 拼貼): the official position attributed to Zhong Yiwan, his activities, interpersonal networks, and even the narrative ending all reveal discernible traces of halo appropriation from the standard histories. Moreover, The so-called "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" exhibits a break in documentary transmission, and its date of erection creates an age paradox with Chen Lian, under whose name the *Mubiao* was forged. The place name associated with Zhong Yiwan's alleged seclusion likewise constitutes a chronological anachronism.

1.3 Significance of the Study: Typicality of the Case and Methodological Value

1.3.1 Preliminary Definition of "Ancestral Capital"

To explain the social motivations underlying the emergence and long-term dissemination of the Zhong Yiwan narrative, this study introduces the analytical concept of "ancestral capital" (祖先資本) on the basis of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital. Within the specific context of Ming–Qing lineage society, ancestral capital refers to a form of symbolic capital centered on the historical prestige of ancestors, which functions practically in local social interactions through textual production and institutional embedding. The theoretical origins, internal constitutive dimensions, and operational mechanisms of this concept in the Zhong Yiwan case—since they pertain to the socio-historical interpretation that follows the completion of this study's refutation conclusions—are reserved for systematic exposition in Section 6.3, in conjunction with the findings already established. The present section serves only as a conceptual preview, to enable readers to understand the logical division of labor between "Constructed Historical Narrative" and "ancestral capital" in the subsequent discussion.

Based on the foregoing definition, the relationship between the two core concepts employed in this study can be preliminarily understood: “Constructed Historical Narrative” constitutes the textual mechanism through which ancestral capital is produced, whereas “ancestral capital” represents the social-functional objective pursued through such narrative construction. The former addresses the question of how narratives are constructed; the latter explains why narratives are constructed. Within the overall argumentative structure of this study, Chapters 2 through 5 reveal the constructed nature of the Zhong Yiwan narrative through multi-dimensional evidence, while Chapter 6 explains the socio-historical conditions underlying the production and dissemination of this narrative from the perspective of ancestral capital.

1.3.2 The Research Value of the Zhong Yiwan Narrative Extends Far Beyond the Question of Historical Authenticity and Possesses Multiple Scholarly and Practical Significances.

Academic Significance I: A Typical Case of Constructed Historical Narrative in Genealogical Studies. The Zhong Yiwan narrative represents a typical example of the construction of lineage historical memory during the Ming and Qing periods. Its specific mechanisms are analyzed in detail in Chapter 5 and 6. By dissecting this case, it becomes possible to gain a deeper understanding of how clans in traditional Chinese society transformed narratives into “history” through processes of textual production and transmission.

Academic Significance II: An Innovative Practice in Historical Methodology. The “Multi-Dimensional Cross-Verification Method” and the “Textual Deconstruction Method” proposed in this study provide an operational framework for evaluating local historical materials. Whereas traditional historical verification often relies on the comparison of a single source or a limited number of sources, this study constructs an evidentiary network composed of multiple independent categories of materials, including institutional records,

official histories, inscriptions, provincial gazetteers, prefectural gazetteers, county gazetteers, literary collections, examination records, and family documents. Through systematic critical examination based on empirical comparison, the study advances the argument from a state of “suspected construction” to one of “systematic refutation.”

Academic Significance III: A Perspective on the Politics of Memory During Dynastic Transition. The Song–Yuan dynastic transition, as a major political rupture, generated a large number of narratives centered on loyalty and righteousness. During the Ming and Qing periods, these narratives were repeatedly reproduced and reinterpreted in response to changing political and cultural needs. Although the Zhong Yiwan narrative is demonstrated in this study to lack historical foundation, the processes through which it was created, disseminated, and eventually consolidated provide valuable insight into the cultural and psychological mechanisms by which local societies since the Ming and Qing periods expressed contemporary political attitudes through symbolic constructions of “loyalists of the previous dynasty.”

Practical Significance I: Questions Concerning the Authenticity of Cultural Heritage Associated with Historical Figures. At present, some forms of cultural heritage associated with historical figures, including tombs, ancestral halls, and inscriptions, have been incorporated into official cultural heritage protection systems on the basis of genealogical narratives whose historical foundations have not been rigorously examined. The Zhong Yiwan Cemetery was designated as a Yulin Municipal Cultural Relics Protection Unit in 1996. However, the historical foundation underlying this designation is itself a constructed narrative. Because this narrative has entered both the local cultural heritage protection system and official media discourse, its social influence extends far beyond that of an ordinary genealogical account. Such cases may result not only in the misallocation of public resources

but also in the mistaken acceptance of constructed narratives as historical fact. They therefore merit critical reflection by both scholars and the broader public.

Practical Significance II: Academic Standards in the Writing of Local History and Culture. In the compilation of local historical and cultural materials, unverified genealogical narratives are sometimes accepted and presented as historical fact. Typical examples include the article "*Deng Deyu, a Patriotic General of the Southern Song: The Zhonggong Shrine Was Built Because of Him, and Zhonggong Lane Was Named After It,*" published on the official website of the Yulin Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 28 February 2017, and the article "*The Zhong Lineage of Yulin: Renowned for Loyalty and Patriotism, with a Legacy of Moral Clarity and Practical Application*," published by Yulin News Network on 8 January 2018. These publications present a lineage-constructed narrative as officially recognized history and thereby risk misleading the public.

Practical Significance III: Governance of Constructed Historical Narrative Dissemination in the digital age. On internet platforms such as Baidu Baike (see Figure 7) and various self-media platforms, the Zhong Yiwan narrative has been widely disseminated. It is frequently accompanied by unverified source claims such as "according to the *Song Shi* (the *History of Song*)" or "according to the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*." The dissemination of Constructed Historical Narratives in the digital age exhibits new characteristics, including rapid circulation, extensive reach, and difficulty of source tracing. These characteristics pose new challenges to the public understanding and public verification of historical knowledge.



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钟宜万 播报 编辑 讨论 上传视频 创建人物关系

南宋全州路提刑使

钟宜万，南宋人，1237年出生于广东东莞县茶园村，逝世时间是1314年。

本　名	钟宜万	民族族群	汉族
字	宜万	出生地	广东东莞县茶园村
所处时代	南宋	出生日期	1237年
		逝世日期	1314年

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钟宜万墓园 9078播放 | 07:07

著名的抗元英雄钟宜万墓

钟道六公，字宜万，南宋嘉熙元年生（公元1237年），原籍广东东莞县茶园村，南宋咸淳（1265年～1274年）、德祐年间（1275年～1276年）任全州路提刑使，曾随广西提点刑邓得遇率军抗击元军南侵，是著名的抗元英雄。南宋德佑二年（公元1276年），元军攻陷长沙、广州。邓得遇与提刑使锺宜万移至苍梧。锺宜万深入家乡广州袭击牵制敌人，以减缓元军对苍梧的进迫。不久，静江、苍梧沦陷，邓得遇撤往鬱林。宜万公亦携三岁幼儿德明赴鬱林找老上级邓得遇。五月初四，元军攻陷鬱林，邓得遇投南流江壮烈殉国。初六，宜万公父子赶到鬱林，闻老上司邓得遇噩耗，这位南宋遗臣，为避免元兵追捕，只能带着幼子德明就地隐居于广西鬱林州东凝乡西岸堡之白浐泉（今玉林名山乡钟周村北面），成为玉林五属钟姓始祖。宜万公于元朝延佑元年（公元1314年）卒，享年七十七岁，葬于钟村背牛栖山，坐巽向乾兼巳亥，是鬱林钟氏始祖，九月十七日例祭。宜万公牛栖山陵墓始建于元朝延佑元年（1314年），明朝洪武廿九年（1396年），经我钟氏后人重修，并按当时礼制，在墓道两侧置石人、石马、石狮、石鼓及石柱等，刻有墓表一座（墓表文题目为《宋提刑使宜万公墓表》，撰文者为时任桂林府教授陈琏），至今保存完好。后又经我钟氏子孙多次维修扩建，成为一座岭南知名陵园，为玉林市重点文物保护单位。

始祖妣陈氏葬于原籍广东东莞螃蟹山，生一子德明，育一子德扬。

词条图册 更多图册 >

Figure 9. Entry on "Zhong Yiwan" (鍾宜萬) in Baidu Baike (accessed December 11, 2025).

1.4 Research Methods: A Multi-Dimensional Cross-Verification Framework

This study adopts a methodological approach of "multi-dimensional cross-verification," conducting comprehensive verification of the institutional rationality, spatiotemporal consistency, and textual structural features of historical narratives through cross-comparison among documentary systems that are independent in their origins and mechanisms of production. This approach rests upon seven analytical dimensions—Institutional (H), Temporal (T), Textual Genealogy (I), Geographical (G), Logical (L), Documentary (M), and Personal (P). Chapters 2 through 6 follow this framework in

unfolding the specific argumentation dimension by dimension. The formal definitions, operational standards, and three-tiered adjudication mechanisms of these seven dimensions will be systematically consolidated in Section 7.2 as the “Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives.” The present section serves only to designate each dimension conceptually, providing reference markers for the subsequent argumentation, and will not reiterate the specific examination criteria in order to avoid redundancy with the systematic exposition in Section 7.2.

Among these, the criteria for identifying “independent documentary systems” underlying the Documentary Dimension (M), as well as the three criteria for transforming “documentary silence into counter-evidence,” are defined in Section 3.9. The operational standards for all other dimensions are uniformly presented in Section 7.2. It should be particularly noted that the transmission pathways of narratives—including genealogical records, local gazetteer writings, and online dissemination—are not included within the scope of the seven-dimensional framework’s authenticity verification. This part addresses the mechanisms of social diffusion and consolidation of narratives and the motivational logic of narrative construction, belonging to the “level of explanatory analysis” rather than the “level of authenticity verification.” It is therefore presented as an independent analytical module in Chapter 6, parallel to and non-overlapping with this framework.

The following chapters proceed from the Institutional Dimension (H) and sequentially unfold the specific examination across all seven dimensions.

2. Institutional Refutation: Systemic Errors in the Official System

2.1 The Circuit (lu 路)-Superior Prefecture (fu 府), Prefecture (zhou 州), Military Prefecture (jun 軍), Supervisory District (jian 監)-County Administrative System and the Institutional Position of the Judicial Intendancy in the Song Dynasty

To clarify the nature of the foregoing institutional misplacements, the following sections examine, in sequence, the Song dynasty's lu-level administrative system, the institutional framework of the Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si 提點刑獄司), and the historical evolution of Quanzhou's administrative status.

A circuit (lu 路) was an important administrative division during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Originating from the Tang dynasty dao system, it initially functioned as a central supervisory region in the early Northern Song. After the establishment of the fifteen-circuit framework in the third year of the Zhidao reign period (997), it gradually evolved into an administrative unit. Its administrative level was broadly comparable to that of a province in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The number of circuits increased to twenty-four during the reign of Emperor Huizong and was later reduced to seventeen in the Southern Song. The so-called "Quanzhou Circuit" (Quanzhou lu 全州路) referred to in the Zhong narrative did not exist in the Song dynasty. Under each circuit were superior prefectures (fu 府), prefectures (zhou 州), military prefectures (jun 軍), supervisory districts (jian 監), and counties (xian 縣). Each circuit maintained four parallel administrative agencies: the Transport Commission (Zhuanyun Si 轉運司), the Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si 提點刑獄司), the Pacification Commission (Anfu Si 安撫司), and the Ever-Normal Granary Intendancy (Tiju Changping Si 提舉常平司), forming a decentralized administrative structure.

The Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si 提點刑獄司, hereafter referred to as Tixing Si 提刑司) of the Southern Song dynasty, as a circuit-level judicial supervisory institution, was organized under the institutional principle of "one Judicial Intendancy per circuit." Even when, as recorded, "during the Jiading period, the Judicial Intendancy was stationed in Yulin (鬱林) Prefecture during the first half of the year and in Jingjiang Prefecture during the second half,"[2]this amounted merely to a rotational stationing of the intendancy seat and did not alter the basic institutional principle of one Judicial Intendancy per circuit. Its chief official bore titles such as "Tidian Mou Lu Xingyu" (提點某路刑獄) or "Mou Lu Tidian Xingyu" (某路提點刑獄). Examples include "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi Tidian Xingyu)" (廣西提點刑獄), "Tidian Guangnan Xilu Xingyu" (提點廣南西路刑獄), and "Guangnan Xilu Tidian Xingyu" (廣南西路提點刑獄). These titles were commonly abbreviated as "Guangxi Tixing" (廣西提刑).

This institutional normativity is reflected on three levels:

1. The Singularity of Institutional Establishment. As for the institutional principle of "one Judicial Intendancy per circuit" (yi lu yi si), it was not until the eleventh year of the Shaoxing reign (1141), when the territorial arrangements were stabilized following the Shaoxing Peace Accord and the sixteen-circuit configuration (later expanded to seventeen) had become relatively stable, that the circuit jurisdictions of the Judicial Intendancies were essentially established. The Liangzhe Circuit (Liangzhe Lu), for example, constituted an exception due to its vast territorial scope and complex administrative affairs: in the early Shaoxing period, two Judicial Intendants were temporarily appointed for this circuit; after several cycles of division and consolidation, it was ultimately divided, following the Southern Song court's southward migration, into the Eastern and Western Zhejiang circuits, each with

[2]*Song Shi* (《宋史》, History of Song), juan 167, "Zhiguan 7"(職官七).

its own Judicial Intendancy. Thereafter, although the seat of the Judicial Intendancy was on occasion transferred to another prefecture within the same circuit, the institutional arrangement of one Judicial Intendancy for each circuit remained unchanged. With respect to the appointment of the chief official, by the reign of Emperor Xiaozong the abuses associated with military Judicial Intendants had become increasingly apparent. Consequently, the court ceased appointing military officials as Judicial Intendants, and thereafter each circuit was assigned only a single civil Judicial Intendant." [3]For example, during the Southern Song dynasty, the Guangnan West Circuit appointed only one official bearing the title of "Guangnan West Circuit Judicial Intendant" (Guangnan Xilu Tidian Xingyu Gongshi 廣南西路提點刑獄公事). The administrative office through which this official exercised his functions was variously referred to as the "Tidian Xingyu Si" (提刑司), "Xingyu Si" (刑獄司), "Xiansi" (憲司), or "Xiantai" (憲臺). Therefore, the coexistence of a "Guangxi Quanzhou Judicial Intendancy" and a "Guangxi Judicial Intendancy" is institutionally impossible within the framework of the existing historical records. Such an arrangement would be comparable to establishing two separate sets of Higher People's Courts, public security departments, and procuratorates within a single modern province, thereby producing a structural contradiction incompatible with the established administrative framework. Moreover, Quanzhou at that time did not belong to the Guangnan West Circuit but was instead under the jurisdiction of the Jinghu South Circuit. Even if Quanzhou had hypothetically fallen under the administrative authority of the Guangnan West Circuit, it still would not have been entitled to bear the designation "Guangxi," because Quanzhou remained administratively subordinate to the Jinghu South Circuit. Furthermore, the genealogy records

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[3]Gong Yanming (龔延明), ed., *Songdai guanzhi cidian* (《宋代官制辭典》(增補本), supplemented edition), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2001: 535–537. Wang Xiaolong (王曉龍), *Songdai tidian xingyu si zhidu yanjiu* (《宋代提點刑獄司制度研究》, A Study on the Tidian Xingyu Si System of the Song dynasty), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2008: 100–101,115.

that Zhong Yujing, the father of Zhong Yiwan, held the position described as “Huguang Tiju Si” (湖廣提舉司), while the *Yulin City Gazetteer* and the Zhong lineage records refer to Zhong Yiwan as holding “Tixingshi Si” (提刑使司). Examined together, these three records all take the names of administrative offices as official titles, resulting in a mismatch between institutional designations and actual official positions. Such errors are not isolated scribal mistakes; rather, they derive from the narrative constructors’ unfamiliarity with Song and Yuan institutional systems and their confusion between administrative offices and official titles.

2. The Standardization of Official Titles. Under the Song administrative system, the formal title of the Judicial Intendant was Tidian Xingyu Gongshi (提點刑獄公事), commonly abbreviated as Tixing (提刑). Titles such as “Tixingshi” (提刑使) or “Tixing [name of a prefecture] Xingyu” (提刑某州刑獄) did not exist in Song official nomenclature. The title “Tixingshi” first appeared as a formal official designation in the Jin dynasty and was later renamed “Anchashi” (按察使).[4]

From the Yuan dynasty onward, some texts concerning Song affairs occasionally confused “Tixing” with “Tixingshi.” For example, the Southern Song scholar Lü Zhong’s *Huangchao Zhongxing Dashiji* (皇朝中興大事記) recorded the Jingkang martyr Guo Zhongxiao as “Tixing”; Ming-dynasty manuscript copies preserve this reading, whereas a Daoguang-era manuscript altered it into “Tixingshi.” However, comparison with the *History of Song: Biographies of Loyal and Righteous Officials* (宋史·忠義傳), *Huangchao Zhongxing Dashiji Jiangyi* (皇朝中興大事記講義), Xu Mengxin’s *Sanchao Beimeng Huibian* (三朝北盟會編), Li Xinchuan’s *Daoming Lu* (道命錄), Yu Yan’s *Duyi Juyao* (讀易

[4]*Jin Shi* (《金史》, History of Jin), juan 57, “Zhi 38”(志第三十八);Lü Zongli (吕宗力) and Zhang Zhenglang (張政烺), eds., *Zhongguo lidai guanzhi dacidian (xiuding ban)* (《中國歷代官制大辭典(修訂版)》), Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2015: 836–837.

舉要), and Ma Duanlin’s *Wenxian Tongkao* (文獻通考) shows that all consistently record Guo Zhongxiao as “Tixing” or “Tidian Xingyu” (提點刑獄), with no occurrence of “Tixingshi.” Therefore, the Daoguang manuscript’s use of “Tixingshi” represents an unwarranted interpolation introduced by Qing copyists unfamiliar with Song institutions. Similarly, the *Xinbian Gujin Shiwen Leiju ·Waiji* (新編古今事文類聚 外集), juan 8, records “the appointment of Ding Zhili as Hebei West Circuit Tixingshi.” Upon examination, this *Waiji* (外集) was in fact a supplementary continuation by the Yuan scholar Fu Dayong, rather than part of the original Southern Song compilation by Zhu Mu. Its designation of a Song official as “Tixingshi” likewise represents a later confusion.

Crucially, Chen Lian, whose name was falsely attached to the *Mubiao* by the Zhong lineage, consistently used the designation “Tixing” rather than “Tixingshi” in his own writings. In the *Qinxuan Ji* (琴軒集), juan 29, the *Mubiao* “*Meiwai Li Gong Mubiao*” (梅外李公墓表) contains the phrase “Liu Shuzi, who served as Tixing during the Xianchun reign” (咸淳中提刑劉叔子).[5]The same designation appears in the “Timing” (題名) sections of juan 4 and 5 of the *Guilin Junzhi* (桂林郡志).[6]In neither case is the title recorded as “Tixingshi.” This contradicts Chen Lian’s own terminological practice and constitutes the most direct self-refuting evidence against the pseudo-attribution. The Zhong narrative designates Zhong Yiwan’s official title as “Tixingshi” or “Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu” (提刑全州刑獄), designations that correspond more closely to later-period terminology than to that of the Song dynasty.

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[5]Chen Lian (陳璉, Ming dynasty), *Qinxuan Ji* (琴軒集), juan 29, “Mubiao / Xingzhuang” (墓表/行状; Mubiao [Funerary Stele Inscriptions] / Biographical Records), Wanjuantang reprint edition, 1721.

[6]Chen Lian (陳璉), *Guilin Junzhi* (《桂林郡志》, Guilin Commandery Gazetteer), juan 4–5, “Timing”(題名).

3. The strategic and balanced placement of government offices. The location of the Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si 提點刑獄司) was generally situated in a lu-level administrative center, a strategic location, or, in some cases, a relatively remote area in order to balance administrative coverage. From the fifteenth year of the Jiading reign (1222), the Guangnan West Judicial Intendancy was divided between Yulin Prefecture and Jingjiang Prefecture on a half-year rotational basis, rather than being located in Quanzhou. Even when the office was placed in Yulin, there was never any institution bearing the erroneous title "Guangxi Yulin Lu Tixing Si" (廣西鬱林路提刑司).

2.2 Administrative Status of Quanzhou: A Zhou under Jinghu South Circuit in the Song dynasty, Designated as a Circuit Only in the Yuan dynasty, and Incorporated into Guangxi Only in the Ming dynasty.

Quanzhou (present-day Quanzhou County, Guangxi) was a military zhou-level administrative unit under the jurisdiction of Jinghu South Circuit during the Song dynasty. It administered two counties, Qingxiang and Guanyang, and belonged to Jinghu South Circuit (in present-day Hunan). Its administrative status never reached the level of a circuit. Therefore, the explanatory note added by Zhong in his account of Zhong Yiwan, which describes "Quanzhou Circuit (lu)" as "an administrative division of the Song and Yuan periods," is not supported by the historical administrative record.

It is worth clarifying that, although there were instances in the Song dynasty where circuits were named after their administrative seats—such as Lizhou Lu and Kuizhou Lu—such circuits were all circuit-level administrative divisions governing multiple prefectures. The administrative seats of these circuits, Lizhou and Kuizhou, remained prefecture-level (zhou) administrative units and did not change their administrative status merely by serving as circuit seats. Their relationship was therefore one of a circuit governing a prefecture and a

prefecture serving as the circuit's administrative seat, rather than one of equivalence between a zhou and a lu. The case of Quanzhou was markedly different: throughout the entire Song period, Quanzhou remained a prefecture-level (zhou) administrative unit under the jurisdiction of Jinghu South Circuit. Within the Song administrative system, there never existed a circuit-level administrative division named after Quanzhou as its administrative seat.

It was only during the Yuan dynasty that the designation "Quanzhou lu (Circuit)" came into use, and even then it referred only to a second-level administrative division under the Huguang Branch Secretariat. In the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign (1276), after Tanzhou fell to Yuan forces, Xiao Yansou, Magistrate of Qingxiang County, surrendered with the local population. In the fourth month of the fourteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign, a Pacification Commission was established, and in the sixth month it was reorganized as the Quanzhou lu (Circuit) General Commission, which continued to administer two counties.

In the first year of the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty (1368), Quanzhou Circuit (Quanzhou Lu) was redesignated as Quanzhou Prefecture (Quanzhou Fu), while its county jurisdiction remained unchanged. In the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376), Quanzhou Prefecture was downgraded to Quanzhou Department (Quanzhou Zhou), Qingxiang County was abolished and incorporated into Quanzhou, and Quanzhou was placed under the jurisdiction of Yongzhou Prefecture in Huguang Province. In the eighth month of the twenty-seventh year of the Hongwu reign (1394), Han Guan submitted a memorial requesting that Quanzhou be transferred to Guilin Prefecture under the Guangxi Provincial Administration Commission (Guangxi Chengxuan Buzheng Shisi), with Guanyang County placed under its jurisdiction.[7]

It is therefore evident that Quanzhou belonged to Jinghu South Circuit during the Song dynasty and was reassigned to the jurisdiction of Guangxi only in the Ming dynasty.

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[7] *Jiaqing edition of Quanzhou Zhi* (嘉慶《全州志》, Quanzhou Gazetteer), juan 1, "Yudi yange" ("輿地沿革").

The composition of the official title "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" combines institutional elements from the Song, Jin, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, exhibiting clear characteristics of a later composite construction.

The foregoing examination of administrative evolution has a further and more important implication for institutional history. As discussed in Section 2.1, the Song dynasty's Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si 提點刑獄司) was a lu-level supervisory institution, whose chief official bore the title Tidian [name of] Lu Xingyu Gongshi (提點某路刑獄公事), with the lu serving as its institutional unit. Since Quanzhou was a zhou under the jurisdiction of Jinghu South Circuit and never attained lu-level status, neither the office designation "Quanzhou Lu Tixing Si" (全州路提刑司) nor the official title "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄) possessed the fundamental institutional prerequisites for their establishment. A lu-level supervisory institution could not be established at a non-lu administrative level, nor could a lu be reduced to the status of a zhou. By forcibly grafting this zhou-level place name onto a lu-level official system, the Zhong narrative creates a structural mismatch of "matching a zhou with a lu-level official post" within the Song dynasty's three-tier administrative hierarchy of lu, zhou, and county. Thus, the institutional principle of "one lu, one intendancy, one Judicial Intendant" established in Section 2.1 and Quanzhou's status as a zhou demonstrated in Section 2.2 mutually corroborate each other, together leading to the conclusion that the titles "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" and "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" cannot be institutionally established within the framework of the Song dynasty.

This confusion of administrative hierarchies is not an isolated case in the Zhong narrative. As will be examined in Section 4.3, the *Mubiao* separates the prefectural seat of Tanzhou (潭州) from its attached county seat, Changsha (長沙), and treats them as two successive locations. This represents the same type of institutional misunderstanding. The

constructors of the narrative neither understood the prefectural status of Quanzhou nor recognized that Tanzhou and Changsha formed a single administrative and urban entity. These two errors therefore mutually corroborate one another, revealing a fundamental misunderstanding of the Song dynasty's three-tier administrative hierarchy of circuit, prefecture, and county.

2.3 Zhong's Misinterpretation of the Term "She Jinglüe Shi"

The Tongzhi edition of the General Gazetteer of Guangxi (Guangxi Tongzhi), juan 21, "Table of Officials IX" (Zhiguan Biao Jiu), under the category "Officials of the Judicial Intendancy and the Ever-Normal Granary Intendancy" (Tidian Xingyu Tiju Changping deng Guan), explicitly records Deng Deyu as "She Jinglüe Shi Jian Zhi Jingjiang Fu" (攝經略事兼知靜江府). The character she (攝) denotes an acting or temporary capacity (e.g., shezheng wang 攝政王, "regent"), not a substantive appointment. "Jinglüe shi" (經略事) refers to the military and civil affairs of a circuit (lu), as distinct from the official title "Jinglüe shi" (經略使, Pacification Commissioner). Deng Deyu's substantive office throughout remained Guangxi Tidian Xingyu (廣西提點刑獄, Guangxi Judicial Intendant), and the General Gazetteer of Guangxi likewise lists Deng Deyu under the official rank category of "Tidian Xingyu Tiju Changping deng Guan."

The substantive holder of the office of Pacification Commissioner (經略使) in the final years of the Song dynasty was Ma Ji (馬塈*; note: a different official of the same name, written 馬驥, appears separately below*). In the same "Table of Officials IX," under the category "Jinglüe Commissioners, Transport Commissioners, Vice Commissioners, Panguan, and Officials Below These Ranks" (經略轉運等使副使判官以下), Ma Ji's entry explicitly states: "Ma Ji (馬塈), in the second year of the Deyou reign period, was appointed Guangxi

Pacification Commissioner..." Furthermore, the compilers of the General Gazetteer of Guangxi included a discussion within Ma Ji's entry concerning the attribution of the office of Pacification Commissioner, thereby distinguishing Ma Ji's substantive appointment from Deng Deyu's temporary acting authority.

The *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (Kangxi edition) and the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* record the official posts of Deng Deyu and Ma Ji consistently, both listing Deng Deyu as Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄) and Ma Ji as Pacification Commissioner (jinglüe shi 經略使). This record is not an isolated instance from local gazetteers; Song–Yuan sources such as the *Zhaozhong Lu* (《昭忠錄》, Register of Manifest Loyalty, anonymous, late Song, Siku Quanshu edition) and the *Zhongyi Ji* (《忠義集》, Collection of Loyalty and Righteousness, compiled by Zhao Jingliang, Yuan dynasty, Ming-dynasty manuscript copy) also uniformly record Deng Deyu as the Guangxi Judicial Intendant in the late Song period. The *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (《忠功碑文》) likewise refers to Deng Deyu simply as "Judicial Intendant" (tixing 提刑). Thus, different types of sources—local gazetteers, Song–Yuan historical writings, and stele inscriptions—corroborate one another and collectively confirm Deng Deyu's documented status as the Guangxi Judicial Intendant in the late Song.

This indicates that Deng Deyu was the last Judicial Intendant of the Guangxi Judicial Intendancy until the fall of the Song dynasty (for the same, see Sections 3.4 and 3.6 for details). Both the Zhong lineage narrative and the report published on the Yulin Municipal CPPCC website claim that "during the Xianchun reign, Deng Deyu was promoted to Guangxi Pacification Commissioner while concurrently serving as Prefect of Jingjiang Prefecture, and Zhong Yiwan assumed the post of Guangxi Judicial Intendant." This claim contradicts the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit*, creating the institutional paradox of two Judicial Intendants serving simultaneously within a single lu. The narrative misconstrues Deng Deyu's temporary and concurrent

exercise of circuit-level military and civil affairs in an acting capacity (she jinglüe shi 攝經略事), while concurrently serving as Prefect of Jingjiang Prefecture (jian zhi Jingjiang fu 兼知靜江府), as a formal promotion to office, thereby constructing the narrative that Zhong Yiwan succeeded him in that post.

2.4 Appointment System for Judicial Intendants in the Song dynasty

The appointment system for Judicial Intendants in the Song dynasty was exceptionally stringent, reflecting the high priority that the centralized state attached to the selection of lu-level supervisory officials. The principal features of this appointment system may be summarized under six aspects:

First, the centralization of appointment authority in the hands of the central government. The principal methods for selecting and appointing Judicial Intendants in the Song dynasty included: direct imperial appointment (qinchuo, 親擢); appointment through tangchu (堂除), namely the system by which officials were appointed by the Chief Councillors through the offices of the Chancellorate and the Bureau of Military Affairs; during the Southern Song, the appointment of Judicial Intendants and other supervisory officials was likewise conducted primarily through the tangchu system. Another method was appointment through pichu (闢除) by regional officials exercising authority across multiple circuits, a practice permitted only during special periods in the early and late Southern Song. Other forms of selection also existed, such as appointments based on collective recommendations submitted by senior officials of the Two Systems (liangzhi, 兩制) and Sima Guang's Ten-Criteria Recommendation System (Shike Jushi Fa, 十科舉士法),

although these methods were relatively uncommon and remained in use only for limited periods.[8]

As a lu-level supervisory official, the Judicial Intendant (提刑官) was appointed through the central appointment system administered by the Secretariat-Chancellery (Zhongshu Menxia, 中書門下) and the Bureau of Military Affairs (Shumiyuan, 樞密院), and was accountable to the central government. Deng Deyu, as Judicial Intendant of Guangxi, was not a regional official exercising authority across multiple circuits and therefore lacked the authority even to memorialize the throne recommending Zhong Yiwan for appointment to an office of equivalent rank. Moreover, during the Southern Song period, the power to appoint Judicial Intendants remained largely in the hands of the chief councillors, with tangchu (堂除) serving as the principal method of appointment.

Second, the office of Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事) was subject to stringent statutory qualifications. In order to ensure the quality of officials selected for appointment as Judicial Intendants and other supervisory commissioners, the Song dynasty established explicit regulations concerning qualifications for office and related requirements. With regard to formal eligibility, civil officials were required to hold the status of court officials (chaochen, 朝臣) or above, while military officials eligible for appointment were drawn from ranks ranging from zhusi shi and zhusi fushi (諸司使副) down to gemen zhihou (閣門祇侯). In the early Southern Song, military officials were again permitted to serve as Judicial Intendants. However, after the sixteenth year of the Chunxi reign (1189), military appointments to the Judicial Intendancy were abolished, and the office thereafter retained only one chief commissioner, the Tidian Xingyu Gongshi (提點刑獄公事).

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[8]Jia Yuying (賈玉英), *Songdai jiancha zhidu* (《宋代監察制度》, Supervisory System in the Song dynasty), Henan University Press, 1996: 321; Wang Xiaolong (王曉龍), *Songdai tidian xingyu si zhidu yanjiu*: 117–124.

[9]Although Song regulations did not explicitly require civil appointees to possess the jinshi (進士) degree, the Song dynasty's emphasis on civil over military status meant that those who actually held this office were, in practice, predominantly jinshi graduates, or at minimum metropolitan officials (jingguan, 京官) who had entered government service through hereditary appointment privilege (yinbu, 蔭補). With regard to practical qualifications for appointment, in the first month of the seventh year of the Qingli reign (1047), the court issued an edict stipulating: "Henceforth, for appointments to the office of Judicial Intendant made through recommendation under imperial decree (jiang chi ju, 降敇舉), no person who has not previously completed at least two terms of service as a Vice Prefect (tongpan, 通判) or in a higher office shall be appointed."[10]During the Southern Song period, this principle was further reinforced through subsequent regulations: "Those who have not previously served as county magistrates (xianling, 縣令) shall not be appointed to supervisory commissions or to langguan posts (郎官, central bureau officials)";[11]and "All supervisory commissioners shall follow the standards applied to the Censorate (neitai, 內臺); only those who have previously served as county magistrates and acquired a distinguished administrative reputation may be appointed."[12]In summary, appointment as a Judicial Intendant in the Song dynasty required

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[9]Lü Zongli (吕宗力) and Zhang Zhenglang (張政烺), eds., *Zhongguo lidai guanzhi dacidian (xiuding ban)* (《中國歷代官制大辭典(修訂版)》, Comprehensive Dictionary of Chinese Official Systems in Successive Dynasties, Revised Edition), Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2015: 837–838;
Wang Xiaolong (王曉龍), *Songdai tidian xingyu si zhidu yanjiu* (《宋代提點刑獄司制度研究》, A Study on the Tidian Xingyu Si System of the Song dynasty), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2008: 100–101.
[10]*Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* (《續資治通鑑長編》, Extended Continuation of Zizhi Tongjian), juan 160, entry for Xin Chou day of first month, seventh year of Qingli reign (Zhonghua Book Company, 2016): 8861.
[11]*Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* (《建炎以來繫年要錄》, Annals of Events Since Jianyan Era), juan 41, first month, first year of Shaoxing reign (1131): 892.
[12]Xu Song (徐松), *Song huiyao* (《宋會要》, Collected Statutes of the Song dynasty), juan 199, section 32, "Officials 56", Jiayetang manuscript.

prior service in people-administering offices (qinminguan, 親民官), and actual experience at the level of county magistrate (zhixian, 知縣) or above constituted the minimum practical qualification for eligibility.

Regarding the claim made by the Zhong family and the Yulin CPPCC website on 28 February 2017 that Zhong Yiwan first served as a so-called “Quanzhou Budianguan” (全州捕點官) and was later promoted to “Tixing Zhishi” (提刑知事), no record of either such an office or such a person has been found in the *Quanzhou Gazetteer*, *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, or *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*. Consultation of standard reference works on Chinese official titles, bureaucratic offices, and administrative institutions throughout Chinese history further indicates that neither the title “Budian Guan” (捕點官) nor “Tixing Zhishi” (提刑知事) existed in the Song dynasty.

Moreover, no office known as “Tixing Zhishi” existed among the subordinate officials of the Judicial Intendancy (Tidian Xingyu Si, 提點刑獄司) in the Song dynasty. The subordinate offices of the Song dynasty Judicial Intendancy included Jianfa Guan (檢法官), Ganban Gongshi Guan (幹辦公事官), Qianting Panguan of the Judicial Intendancy (提刑司簽廳判官), Zhuguan Wenzi Guan (主管文字官), Ziyi Guan (諮議官), and various subordinate military officers, including Zhengren (正任), Liwu Jibu Daozei (釐務緝捕盜賊), Xiaowei (校尉), and Xiaoshichen (小使臣).[13]

In the Song dynasty, the term “Zhishi” (知事) was used as a generic designation for local administrative chiefs, including prefects (zhifu), prefectural administrators (zhizhou), and county magistrates (zhixian). Clearly, such a title was beyond the reach of Zhong Yiwan,

[13]Wang Xiaolong (王曉龍), *Songdai tidian xingyu si zhidu yanjiu* (《宋代提點刑獄司制度研究》, A Study on the Tidian Xingyu Si System of the Song dynasty), Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2008: 165–176.

who held no official rank. Moreover, no official source, including the *Quanzhou Gazetteer*, *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, or other extant historical records, contains any record of Zhong Yiwan having served as a prefect, prefectural administrator, or county magistrate. The so-called "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事) mentioned by the Zhong family and the Yulin CPPCC website was most likely derived from the Jin dynasty (金朝) office of Zhishi (知事),[14]a subordinate functionary attached to the Judicial Intendancy and responsible for managing household-registration records and agricultural statistics. More importantly, Judicial Intendants in the Song dynasty were typically appointed from among prefectural administrative officials (tongpan 通判 and zhizhou 知州), circuit-level supervisory officials (tiju changping 提舉常平 and zhuanyun panguan 轉運判官), senior military commanders (dujian 都監, qianxia 鈐轄, and zongguan 總管), and officials holding prestigious posts in the central Secretariat and Censorate (langguan 郎官, yushi 御史, and si jian cheng 寺監丞). Officials serving in subordinate positions within the Judicial Intendancy were not selected for appointment as Judicial Intendants.

This provides important evidence for assessing the narrative concerning Zhong Yiwan's social and official background.

It is therefore evident that Zhong Yiwan possessed neither the imperial examination credentials ordinarily required of civil officials, nor any official rank, nor any experience in local governance as a prefectural or county-level administrator. Consequently, his status as a baiyi (白衣), that is, a man holding no official rank, meant that he not only fell far short of the qualifications required for appointment as a Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi,

[14]*Jin Shi* (《金史》, History of Jin), juan 57, "Zhi 38"(志第三十八).

提點刑獄公事), but also remained substantially below the institutional threshold for recommendation to even a lower-ranking office.

Third, the constructors of the Zhong narrative lacked an understanding of the system of piju (辟舉, recommendation for office).

They failed to recognize that, "Although the Song dynasty maintained a system of piju, a baiyi (白衣) could not be recommended; nor could a person who possessed an imperial examination degree but had not yet held office be recommended."[15]Here, baiyi refers not only to commoners but also to scholars who possessed neither an imperial examination degree nor official rank. In the Song dynasty, even the recommendation of an ordinary official required a complete record of previous appointments and service credentials. How much more stringent, then, would the requirements have been for appointment to the office of Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事), a senior lu-level supervisory official.

Fourth, promotion within the Song official hierarchy was governed by the principle of zixu (資序), an officially prescribed sequence of advancement based on rank, service record, and seniority. Officials were not free to advance arbitrarily but were required to proceed step by step through designated offices. As recorded in Zhu Xi's *Zhuzi Yulei*, juan 128, "Institutions" (Fazhi, 法制): "According to the regulations, one must serve two terms as a county magistrate (zhixian, 知縣) and possess the required promotion endorsements before becoming a tongpan (通判); after two terms as tongpan and with the required promotion endorsements, one may become a prefect (zhizhou, 知州); after two terms as prefect and with the required promotion endorsements, one may become a Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事)." Similarly, Grand Preceptor (Taishi, 太師) Wen Yanbo, in a

[15]Ma Duanlin (馬端臨), *Wenxian tongkao* (《文獻通考》, Comprehensive Examination of Literature), juan 39, "Electoral Examination 12."

memorial submitted to the throne entitled The Established Order for the Appointment and Promotion of Officials (*Zilai Chushou Guanzhi Cixu*, 自來除授官職次序), stated: "Officials under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Personnel (Libu, 吏部) who had completed two terms in people-administering offices (qinminguan, 親民官) and possessed the endorsement of a recommending official (juzhu, 舉主) could be promoted to the office of tongpan (通判). After completing two terms as tongpan and possessing the endorsement of a recommending official, they could be promoted to the office of prefect of a prefecture or military prefecture (zhizhou jun, 知州軍). Promotion according to this sequence was known as the "normal track" (changdiao, 常調). Those serving as prefects of prefectures or military prefectures whose administrative performance was outstanding, or whose reputation and achievements corresponded to one another and were supported by recommendation, could be exceptionally promoted to such positions as Vice Transport Commissioner, Administrative Judge, Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事), or Provincial and Prefectural Judicial Secretary (shengfu tuipanguan, 省府推判官). This form of advancement was known as promotion "outside the normal track" (chu changdiao, 出常調)." [16]In the third year of the Chunxi reign (1176), Cheng Dachang likewise observed: "After selected officials underwent rank conversion and completed two terms, they could advance to tongpan through regular promotion; after two terms as tongpan, to prefect; after two terms as prefect, they would then enter the seniority sequence for appointment as Judicial Intendant." [17]In short, these institutional rules required a strictly sequential progression: from county magistrate to tongpan, from tongpan to prefect, and from prefect to the office of Judicial Intendant (Tidian

[16]*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* (《續資治通鑑長編》), juan 404, "Entry for the guiwei day of the eighth month in the second year of Yuanyou under Emperor Zhezong", Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2016: 22752–22753.
[17]*Song Shi* (《宋史》, History of Song), juan 158, "Zhi 111: Xuanju 4" ("Treatise 111: Selection and Appointment IV").

Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事). Each stage normally required the completion of two terms of service and the endorsement of a recommending official.

During the Southern Song period, practical ability was at times valued more highly than formal qualifications, and the requirement that supervisory commissioners must previously have held people-administering posts (qinminguan, 親民官) was correspondingly relaxed. Nevertheless, the continuing emphasis on practical administrative experience meant that late Southern Song rulers still retained the minimum standard that candidates "must previously have served as county magistrates with a distinguished administrative reputation" (see point two of this section). In other words, appointment to supervisory commissions such as the Judicial Intendancy required prior service as a county magistrate together with demonstrably outstanding administrative performance. Moreover, from the reign of Emperor Xiaozong onward, such appointments were restricted to civil officials. Within the normative framework governing the appointment of Judicial Intendants in the Song dynasty, the appointment of a baiyi (白衣), a person lacking official qualifications, rank, and administrative experience, had no institutional basis.

Fifth, the rigor of the appointment procedure and the rigidity of the institutional framework.

The appointment of a Judicial Intendant (Tidian Xingyu Gongshi, 提點刑獄公事) in the Southern Song was required to follow a legally prescribed procedure composed of multiple interlocking stages. The complexity of this process functioned as an institutional safeguard against unauthorized appointments. This procedure may be divided into three levels:

(I) The complete procedure for regular appointment and assignment (chaiqian chushou, 差遣除授). Even when a candidate possessed the requisite qualifications and seniority, appointment still required the completion of more than ten legally prescribed stages:

determination of available vacancies; preliminary review of submitted credentials; personnel examination (quanshi, 銓試); competition for an available vacancy and placement in the waiting sequence (sheque daici, 射闕待次); official assignment to a designated post through the process of chazhu (差注), including preliminary nomination, collective placement and vacancy inquiry, and assessment of qualifications (quanliang, 銓量); review by the Menxia Sheng (Chancellery, 門下省); issuance of the formal commission, submission of a memorial of gratitude, and finally waiting for an actual vacancy before assuming office.[18]

(II) The Procedural Limits of Appointment by Recommendation (Jupi 舉闢).

Although appointment by recommendation in the Southern Song was more expeditious than the regular personnel selection system, it still required completion of core procedures such as vacancy confirmation and personnel examination (quanshi 銓試). As stipulated by statute, "those who had not passed the personnel examination, had not previously held official office, or had only recently been promoted in rank were not eligible for appointment by recommendation."[19]Thereafter, the recommended candidate was required to submit a declaration of willingness to serve, while the recommending official submitted an assignment petition (chaiqian zhuang 差遣狀) specifying the candidate's service record, merits, and kinship relationships requiring administrative avoidance, together with a pledge of joint liability, whereby the recommender assumed corresponding responsibility should the appointee later be convicted of corruption.[20]The memorial was further accompanied by a tiehuang (貼黃) memorandum detailing the candidate's official background and previous

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[18]Deng Xiaonan (鄧小南), *Songdai wenguan xuanren zhidu zhu cengmian* (《宋代文官選任制度諸層面》), Hebei: Hebei Education Press, 1993: 220–229.

[19]*Song Shi* (《宋史》, History of Song), juan 160, "Treatises" (zhi 志), juan 113, "Selection of Officials VI: Guarantee-Based Recommendation and Performance Evaluation" (《選舉六 · 保任考課》).

[20](Song) Xie Shenfu, *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* (《慶元條法事類》), juan 14, "Xuanju men" ("Section on Selection and Appointment").

appointments, after which the Ministry of Personnel reviewed the case and issued the formal commission credentials. The entire procedure therefore remained highly regulated. More importantly, Zhong Yiwan, as a baiyi (白衣), possessed neither the qualifications (zi, 資) nor the prescribed seniority sequence (zixu, 資序) required for appointment by recommendation. Deng Deyu, moreover, served only as Judicial Intendant of Guangxi and was not a local administrative official exercising authority across multiple circuit jurisdictions. He therefore lacked the statutory authority to recommend the appointment of another Judicial Intendant of equivalent rank. Since Deng Deyu remained continuously in office until the fall of Guangxi at the end of the Southern Song dynasty, no keque (vacant official post) ever arose; therefore, there existed no institutional basis for Zhong Yiwan to succeed him.

(III) Preservation of Documentary Records. A complete process of official appointment would have generated detailed documentary records in both the central Ministry of Personnel and relevant local offices. The Song dynasty maintained a highly developed documentary regime, and the appointment of lu-level supervisory commissioners would normally have left traces in multiple categories of records, including court gazettes, veritable records, and official registers. Had Zhong Yiwan truly been appointed Judicial Intendant, there would have been a strong likelihood that his name would appear in either central archives—such as those of the Zhongshu Menxia (中書門下), the Privy Council (Shumiyuan, 樞密院), the Historiographical Institute (Shiguan, 史館), the Ministry of Personnel (Libu, 吏部), and the Transmission Office (Jinzouyuan, 進奏院)—or local archives maintained by supervisory commissions, prefectures, and counties. Yet neither extant official and private Song sources nor later documentary compilations contain any record of his name. Such an absence can hardly be explained as a mere accidental omission.

In summary, the Zhong lineage narrative claiming that "Deng Deyu memorialized the court to secure Zhong Yiwan's appointment" is incompatible with Song institutional practice

on several grounds. It contravenes the principle that Judicial Intendants were appointed primarily through tangchu (堂除, appointment by the chief councillors), violates the requirement that appointments by recommendation be initiated by local administrators exercising authority across multiple circuits, and conflicts with the procedural rule that candidates recommended for appointment must have accumulated prior official service and satisfy the prescribed seniority sequence (zixu, 資序). Furthermore, no trace of such an appointment survives in the categories of documentary records where each stage of the process would normally have been preserved. This systematic institutional incompatibility provides an important basis for evaluating the credibility of the narrative.

Sixth, intense competition resulting from the chronic imbalance between office-holders and available vacancies. In the Song dynasty, the number of officials consistently exceeded the number of available posts, making the condition of "many officials but few vacancies" (yuan duo que shao, 員多闕少) a structural feature of the bureaucracy. As one of the most important lu-level supervisory offices, the post of Judicial Intendant was particularly competitive. Even candidates possessing complete qualifications and seniority credentials often had to wait for years before receiving an assignment. Under such circumstances, the claim that a baiyi (白衣)—a commoner lacking both official qualifications and prior service experience—could obtain this office finds no plausible support in the extant institutional record.

In conclusion, the Song system for appointing Judicial Intendants was constrained by multiple institutional requirements relating to fixed establishment quotas, entry credentials, seniority qualifications, procedural rules, competition for vacancies, and endorsement by qualified recommenders. The Zhong lineage claim that "Deng Deyu memorialized the court to secure Zhong Yiwan's appointment as Judicial Intendant" is inconsistent with this institutional framework at virtually every major point.

3. Documentary Refutation: Cross-Verification Across Multiple Historical Source Systems

3.1 The *History of Song* Provides Detailed Records of Deng Deyu but No Trace of Zhong Yiwan

The Biography of Deng Deyu appears in *Song Shi* (History of Song), juan 451, "Biographies of Loyalty and Righteousness VI" (Zhongyi Zhuan Liu, 忠義傳六). The text reads:

"Deng Deyu, courtesy name Dafu, was a native of Qiongzhou. He obtained the jinshi degree in the tenth year of the Chunyou reign (1250). He was appointed Registrar of Ningyuan County, transferred to serve as Magistrate of Nanchang County, then served as tongpan (Vice Prefect, 通判) of Longxing Prefecture, Supervisor of the Left Treasury at the temporary capital, and Prefect of Zhaozhou. He was subsequently promoted to Judicial Intendant of Guangxi. After more than a year, he served concurrently as Acting Pacification Commissioner and Prefect of Jingjiang Prefecture. In the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), when Changsha came under military attack, Deng dispatched the dutong commanders (都統) Ma Ji (馬驥*, lit. "fine steed"*) and Ma Yingqi (馬應麒) to provide relief. Ma Ji (馬驥) secretly defected and returned; Deng executed him and entrusted all military affairs to Ma Yingqi. Before long, Ma Ji (馬塈) succeeded to regional command, but disagreed with Deng in matters of policy. In the second year (1276), Deng transferred his administrative seat to Cangwu. After Jingjiang fell, he donned court robes, faced south, bowed in farewell, and wrote on a sheet of paper: "A loyal minister of the Song house, A filial son of the Deng lineage. I cannot bear to survive in dishonor; I would rather gladly die by drowning. Where Peng Xian once made his home, that depth shall be my final resting place. Qu Yuan shall be my companion. Calm and untroubled, I have found the place where I belong." He then cast himself into the Nanliu River and died."

The evidentiary value of this biography is multifold. First, it clearly establishes Deng Deyu's identity: he was a jinshi graduate of the tenth year of the Chunyou reign and possessed a complete record of official service and seniority qualifications (zixu, 資序). Second, It specifies his office as Judicial Intendant of Guangxi, and later his assumption of responsibility for Guangxi's military and civil affairs in an acting capacity. Third, it establishes a clear chronology: in the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), after Changsha came under attack, he dispatched military reinforcements; in the second year (1276), he transferred his administrative seat to Cangwu; after the fall of Jingjiang, he died in loyalty to the Song. Fourth, it explicitly records that Deng Deyu dispatched the dutong commanders Ma Ji (馬驥) and Ma Yingqi to provide military relief in 1275, not Zhong Yiwan. Fifth, it clearly records the manner of his death: he drowned himself in the Nanliu River, fully consistent with the account preserved in the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑).

However, a search of the entire *History of Song*—comprising 496 juan, including 47 juan of Annals (Benji), 162 juan of Treatises (Zhi), 32 juan of Tables (Biao), and 255 juan of Biographies (Liezhuan)—reveals no mention whatsoever of Zhong Yiwan. If Zhong Yiwan had indeed served as Judicial Intendant of Guangxi and participated in military resistance against the Yuan, his official status would have been comparable to that of Deng Deyu, and his activities would have been closely connected with major events of the period. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to imagine that he would have escaped the notice of court historiographers and left no trace in the dynastic history.

3.2 The Hongwu Third-Year (1370) "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*": Deng Deyu Explicitly Identified as Judicial Intendant, Chen Ying as His Collaborator, and No Record of Zhong Yiwan.

In the third year of the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty (1370), Zhao Tianjian, Prefect of Yulin Zhou, erected the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑). This stele is an important source for the study of Yulin's resistance to the Yuan and was an officially sponsored commemorative stele honoring loyal and righteous subjects. The stele inscription states:[21]

"Those distinguished for loyalty and meritorious service ought, according to the institutions of the ancient kings, to be honored with sacrificial rites, thereby encouraging officials in their service and commending the worthy. Yulin Commandery (鬱林郡), situated in a remote frontier region, was seldom visited by imperial inspectors bearing the insignia of authority. Consequently, many men distinguished for loyalty and merit remained unknown to the imperial court. It therefore fell to those entrusted with the governance of the locality to remedy what had been left undone by establishing sacrificial rites so that their memory might endure for generations. This was not a matter of private interest, but merely an enduring principle of honoring virtue.

On the fourth day of the twelfth month in the first year of the Deyou reign of the Song, the Yuan sent a commander titled Wanhu surnamed Qi, bearing an edict to Yulin, instructing Judicial Intendant Deng Deyu and others to surrender. Deng angrily rebuked him and drove him away. Prefect Chen secretly took the prefectural seal, went to the military camp, and submitted himself to Yuan command. The Yuan installed the puppet prefect Tan Daofu to administer the prefecture. Prefect Chen and Wanhu Ai Zhenguo were exceptionally promoted.

[21]Tongzhi edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (同治《廣西通志》), juan 146, "Jianzhi 21" ("Administrative Establishments XXI"). (Qing) Wang Sen (汪森), ed., *Yuexi wenzai* (《粤西文載》, Collected Literary Works on Guangxi), Siku Quanshu edition, juan 38, "Stele Inscriptions: Shrines and Temples" (Beiwen ·Cimiao 碑文 祠廟).

At that time there was a Nanliu magistrate named Chen Ying (陳應). Together with the examination candidates Quan Qi'ao (全起鰲) and Liang Miyuan (梁彌遠), he raised one thousand righteous troops. Three times they entered the prefectural city and fought street battles with Tan Daofu, but were defeated. Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan died in battle. Chen Ying alone escaped from mortal danger and fled to the command of Judicial Intendant Deng. Together they planned a righteous uprising, summoned three thousand nearby troops, and prepared five hundred scaling ladders. Taking advantage of the deep darkness on New Year's Eve, when the fifth watch had passed and the watch clappers had grown still, they scaled the walls at the first drum signal, killing and wounding patrolling soldiers by the hundreds. Amid the sudden confusion their shouts shook the valleys. Hearing this, Tan Daofu descended from the guard tower and fled. Deng reported the matter to the court, and by imperial decree Chen Ying was appointed Prefect of Tengzhou.

On the fifth day of the fifth month in the second year of Deyou, the Yuan forces arrived in great strength. Deng judged the situation impossible to sustain. Fully dressed in official robes, he faced east and took leave of the Song emperor, then wrote upon his seat: "A loyal minister of the Song house, a filial son of the Deng family. I cannot endure to live in dishonor; better willingly drown in death." He cast himself into the Nanliu River and died. Chen Ying likewise changed his name and erased his traces, and no one knew his end.

Alas! Lord Deng's loyalty is recorded in the histories because his rank was eminent. Lord Chen's merit has remained silent and unknown because his rank was humble. When I first assumed office here, I heard local elders still recount these deeds with admiration. Moved in sorrowful reflection, I economized my daily expenses, gathered timber, and built a shrine on the banks of the Nanliu River, inscribing upon it the name "Loyalty and Merit," so that officials might sacrifice there in spring and autumn, as an encouragement to all ministers of future ages.

Lord Deng, personal name Deyu (得遇), courtesy name Dafu (達夫), style Kentang (肯堂), was a native of Qiongzhou (邛州), and through the jinshi degree was appointed to his present office. Lord Chen, personal name Ying (應), courtesy name Botai (伯泰), style Zhucun (竹村), was a native of Baizhou (白州). He first served as Xiaowei (校尉, a military officer at court), rendered meritorious service in audience before the king, was then appointed Gemen Zhihou (閣門祇候, a palace-attendant military post), promoted to Nanliu magistrate (南流尹), and for his merit in recapturing the city was subsequently promoted to his current office, holding the rank of Fengzhi Dafu (奉直大夫). This stele was erected on the Mid-Autumn Festival of the eighth month in the gengxu year, the third year of the Hongwu reign of the Great Ming (1370)."

This stele was erected in the third year of the Hongwu reign (1370), only 91 years after the fall of the Song dynasty. At that time, Deng Deyu's martyrdom in defense of the dynasty was still being recounted locally by the "respected elders of the community" (bang zhi qijiu 邦之耆舊), while the descendants of those involved and relevant official records would likely still have existed. Accordingly, the source possesses relatively high historical value. The text clearly identifies the principal figures as Deng Deyu, the Judicial Intendant, and Chen Ying, Magistrate of Nanliu. It records the chronology as follows: on the fourth day of the twelfth month in the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), Yuan envoys demanded surrender; on the fifth day of the fifth month in the second year (1276), Deng Deyu died for the Song. It further records that Chen Ying led righteous troops to recover the city, that Deng Deyu appointed him Prefect of Tengzhou, that Deng later died in martyrdom, and that Chen thereafter withdrew into obscurity. The locations mentioned are the prefectural city of Yulin and the Nanliu River. Most importantly, the inscription explicitly states that the Judicial Intendant was Deng Deyu. Nowhere in the entire text is Zhong Yiwan mentioned even once.

More importantly, the inscription explicitly states that Chen Ying, together with two juzi (examination candidates), Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, raised one thousand righteous troops. These men were all associated with Yulin as local figures, and at least two of them are specifically identified as juzi. If Zhong Yiwan had truly been an externally appointed Judicial Intendant, he would have occupied a far higher official standing. Yet the inscription makes no mention of him whatsoever. This strongly suggests that neither Zhong Yiwan nor the deeds later attributed to him had any place in the local memory of Yulin in the early Ming period.

The exclusionary silence of the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* regarding Zhong Yiwan is of crucial significance. The stele was an official commemorative document: its text was composed by Prefect Zhao Tianjian, its calligraphy supplied by Assistant Prefect Huang Bindan, and the stone engraved by the craftsmen Yang Daotai and Jin Ming. If Zhong Yiwan had truly, as the genealogy claims, come from Jingjiang Prefecture to Cangwu and jointly planned resistance with Deng Deyu, it is highly unlikely that such a figure would have been omitted from the inscription. The chronology is especially revealing. From the twelfth month onward, Deng Deyu refused surrender in Yulin city. After Chen Ying, together with the juzi Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, launched three unsuccessful assaults on the city, Chen returned to Deng's command, where they jointly planned an uprising and recaptured the city on New Year's Eve. This is precisely the same period in which the Zhong genealogy places Zhong Yiwan in active cooperation with Deng Deyu. Yet Zhong Yiwan has no recorded interaction whatsoever with Chen Ying, who was simultaneously active in Yulin. Such a complete absence from the contemporary network of wartime collaboration does not accord with the normal pattern of coordination among local officials and resistance leaders.

More critically, the inscription on the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑) records: "Chen Ying, having escaped alone from the jaws of death, rushed to Deng Tixing's command and plotted together to raise a righteous army," explicitly identifying Deng Deyu as a Tixing

(Judicial Intendant 提刑). This is mutually corroborated by the rosters of Tixing in the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* and the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, and further forms a logically closed evidentiary chain with the institutional system established after the Chunxi period of the Southern Song, according to which only one civil official could be appointed as Tixing per lu (circuit). Given that each lu could have only one Tixing, and both the stele inscription and the local gazetteers jointly confirm that Deng Deyu held the office in that lu, Zhong Yiwan could not have simultaneously held the same office. The claim that Zhong Yiwan served as a Tixing is therefore directly refuted.

Because the anti-Yuan narrative of Deng Deyu preserved in the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* is markedly exclusionary, its commemorative cast of actors is limited to Deng Deyu, Chen Ying, Quan Qi'ao, and Liang Miyuan, leaving no place whatsoever for Zhong Yiwan. Confronted with this firm documentary barrier within the local textual tradition of Yulin, the constructors of the Zhong lineage narrative adopted a strategy of circumvention. They instead relocated the story to the Cangwu-Guangzhou regional sphere, where no comparable official commemorative inscription constrained invention, and there fashioned the episode of Zhong Yiwan rushing to aid his fellow townsman Xiong Fei. In this way, they bypassed the unshakable documentary record of the Yulin region and transplanted their constructed narrative into a new spatial and temporal setting.

3.3 Official Histories and Inscriptions: Simultaneous Absence from the Dynastic Record and Local Memory

Zhong Yiwan's omission from both the *History of Song* and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* indicates his absence from two distinct levels of historical remembrance: dynastic historical memory and local commemorative memory.

From the perspective of dynastic historiography, the *History of Song*, officially compiled under the Yuan dynasty, was the authoritative historical summation of the Song

period and represented the highest level of official historical recognition accorded to Song officials. Deng Deyu, as a lu-level supervisory commissioner and a loyal minister who died for the dynasty, was accordingly included in the “Biographies of Loyal and Righteous Officials.” Had Zhong Yiwan truly held a comparable office and performed comparable deeds, the likelihood of his inclusion would have been considerable. The Yuan compilers stood relatively close in time to the late Song period, when archival materials were still extant, and they drew upon official Song sources such as the National History, Veritable Records, and Daily Calendars. Yet no surviving evidence places Zhong Yiwan’s name in such records. This silence merits closer examination.

From the perspective of local commemorative memory, the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* was a monument erected by the Yulin authorities in the early Ming dynasty to commemorate loyal subjects of the fallen Song, and thus represented official local recognition of historically significant figures. Because it was erected not long after the fall of the Song, it possesses considerable historical value: first, descendants of the persons involved were still living locally; second, local elders were still able to recount the events in clear detail; and third, relevant official records were likely still available. Together, these conditions enhanced both the immediacy of memory and the reliability of historical testimony. If Zhong Yiwan had truly been active in Yulin and later retired there, his descendants—whom the Zhong lineage claims had become a prominent local lineage during the Yuan and Ming periods—would presumably have presented his deeds for official recognition. The silence of the inscription therefore strongly suggests that no such claim was publicly advanced by Zhong descendants in the early Ming period.

This simultaneous absence from both dynastic and local records is historically significant. If the narrative were authentic, then, in light of the documentary treatment accorded to contemporaneous anti-Yuan officials of comparable rank and status, the

probability of Zhong Yiwan's omission from the *History of Song* would be exceedingly low. His absence therefore constitutes a comparative historical anomaly.

3.4 Provincial Gazetteer Refutation: The Exclusionary Record of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*

The *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, compiled under the chief editorship of Xie Qikun during the Qing dynasty, is one of the most comprehensive works on the local history of Guangxi and reflects the Qing state's systematic organization of the region's historical record. In the Tongzhi 4 (1865) woodblock edition, juan 21, "Tables of Offices," table 9, the official posts of late Song Guangxi are clearly listed as follows:

The entry on Deng Deyu states: "Deng Deyu, courtesy name Dafu, was a native of Qiongzhou (present-day Qionglai, Sichuan). He obtained the jinshi degree in the tenth year of the Chunyou reign (1250). During the Xianchun period, he was promoted from his post in Zhaozhou to become Judicial Intendant of Guangxi. The following year, he temporarily assumed the duties of Pacification Commissioner and concurrently served as Prefect of Jingjiang."

The entry on Chen Ying states: "In the second year of the Deyou reign (1276), Chen Ying was promoted from Magistrate of Nanliu to Prefect of Tengzhou."

The record concerning Ma Ji (馬塈) states: "In the second year of the Deyou reign (1276), Ma Ji obtained the office of Pacification Commissioner of Guangxi. A source cited as Jin zhi records him as Prefect of Jingjiang during the Deyou period. Cross-checking this with the *History of Song*, the Biography of Deng Deyu notes that in the first year of Deyou (1275), Ma Ji succeeded to the regional military command, but he and Deng Deyu disagreed in deliberations over affairs; in the second year, Deng Deyu relocated his administrative seat to Cangwu. The Biography of Ma Ji further states that he had served as Prefect of Yongzhou and was summoned to court as Left Guard General, but by the time he arrived, the Song

dynasty had already fallen. Ma Ji therefore remained in Jingjiang and assumed overall command of the garrison forces there, thereby obtaining the seal of the Pacification Commissioner's office. Taken together, these two biographies indicate that although Deng Deyu moved his seat to Cangwu, he still retained the concurrent title of Prefect of Jingjiang, whereas Ma Ji, who remained in Jingjiang, acquired only the office of Pacification Commissioner and did not concurrently hold the prefectural post. Accordingly, when Jingjiang fell, Ma Ji died fighting bravely, while Deng Deyu, then away from Jingjiang, also drowned himself in the Nanliu River."

This passage shows that the compilers of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* engaged in careful historiographical verification, examined the circumstances under which Ma Ji (馬塈) obtained the seal of the Pacification Commissioner, and clearly recorded the relationship between Deng Deyu and Ma Ji (馬塈), as well as the ultimate fate of both men.

However, Zhong Yiwan is entirely absent from this detailed roster of late Song officials in Guangxi. His name appears in none of the entries for Judicial Intendant, Pacification Commissioner, zhifu (prefectural administrator), or zhizhou (prefect).

The exclusionary silence of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* regarding Zhong Yiwan may be understood on two levels:

A clear hierarchy of historiographical authority exists in the Chinese historical textual system: official dynastic histories > officially compiled local gazetteers > privately compiled literary collections and genealogies. As a provincially sponsored official gazetteer, the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* carries substantially greater evidentiary authority than lineage genealogies. Where the two conflict, greater weight should normally be accorded to the provincial gazetteer. Genealogies, as internally produced lineage documents, primarily function to construct and sustain lineage identity rather than to provide disinterested historical records; their historical value therefore requires corroboration from external sources.

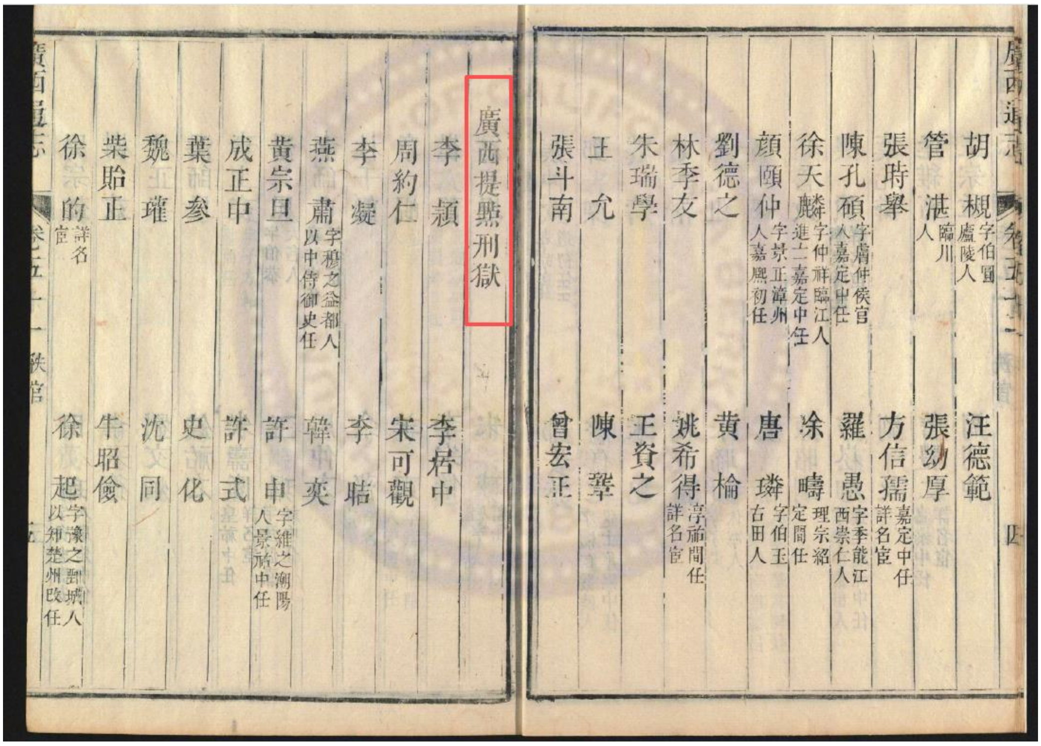
Furthermore, in their classification of official offices, the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* and the Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* are consistent: Deng Deyu is identified as Judicial Intendant, while Ma Ji (馬塈) is identified as Pacification Commissioner of Guangxi.

The Tongzhi-era edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, juan 21, "Tables of Offices 9," records Deng Deyu as the final holder of the office of Judicial Intendant of Guangxi; no successor is listed thereafter. It should be noted that these entries appear within the continuous multi-page format of the "Tables of Offices," while the explanation of rank categories is provided only on the opening page of the juan. For this reason, the present study does not reproduce that introductory page separately in the appendix. To provide visual support for this point, the present study instead reproduces the list of successive holders of the office of Judicial Intendant of Guangxi from juan 51, "Tables of Offices," in the Yongzheng 11 (1733) edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, supervised by Jin Hong (see Figures 10–13).

These records carry clear significance from the perspective of institutional history: in the historical materials preserved in official gazetteers, the sequence of officeholders of the Guangxi Judicial Intendant Commission ended with Deng Deyu. In other words, within the systematic record of extant authoritative local gazetteers, no successor Judicial Intendant is documented after Deng Deyu. Accordingly, the Zhong lineage claim that "Zhong Yiwan subsequently assumed the office of Judicial Intendant of Guangxi" lacks a reliable historical foundation and is better understood as a retrospective construction of a later narrative.

Furthermore, no reference to Zhong Yiwan appears in the relevant juan of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*. Taken together, the evidence from both the succession tables of officeholders and the biographical entries indicates that the claim identifying Zhong Yiwan

with the office of Judicial Intendant of Guangxi is inconsistent with the extant official historical records of Guangxi.

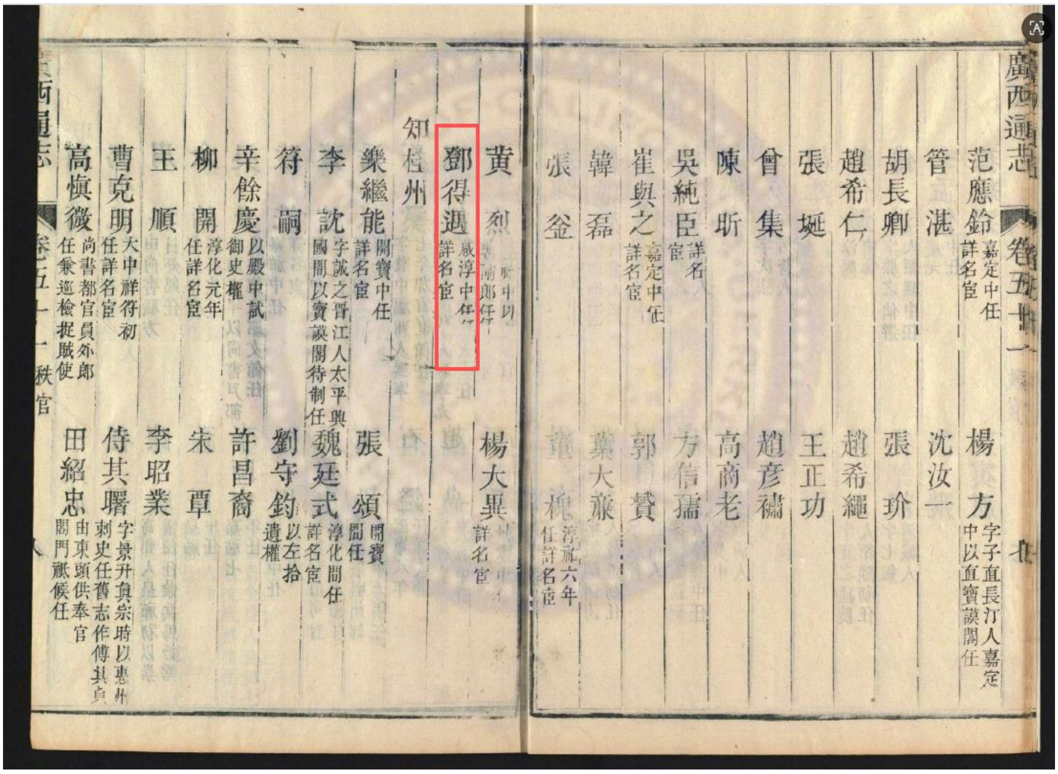

廣西通志　卷五十二　職官　四
胡槻 字伯圓盧陵人　汪德範
管湛 臨川人　張幼厚
張時舉　方信孺 嘉定中任詳名宦
陳孔碩 字膚仲侯官人嘉定中任　羅愚 字季能江西崇仁人
徐天麟 字仲祥臨江人進士嘉定中任　涂疇 理宗紹定間任
顏頤仲 字景正漳州人嘉熙初任　唐璘 字伯玉古田人
劉德之　黃掄
林季友　姚希得 淳祐間任詳名宦
朱瑞學　王資之
王允　陳犖
張斗南　曾宏正
廣西提點刑獄
李頡　李居中
周約仁　宋可觀
李凝　李喆
燕肅 字穆之益都人以中侍御史任　韓奕
黃宗旦　許申 字維之潮陽人景祐中任
成正中　許式
葉參　史化
魏瓘　沈同
柴貽正　牛昭儉
徐的 詳名宦　徐起 字豫之鄄城人以知楚州改任
廣西通志　卷五十二　秩官　五

馬宗懿
田瑜 字資忠壽安人康定中任
樹茲
李永德
杜正平
劉文炳
潘師旦
錢祐之
李上交
朱壽隆 皇祐中任詳名宦
潘夙 字伯恭大名人
王琚 字彥温嘉祐中任
李師中 嘉祐中任詳名宦
馬仲方
杜千能
余藻
章峴
羊奭
崔靜
李宗儀
馬把
宋球 熙寧間任

許彥先
劉宗傑 元豐初以秘書丞任
彭次雲 元豐初以屯田員外郎任
李湜
闞杞 錢塘人
劉拯 字彥修南陵人元豐中任
方蒙
劉蒙 詳名宦
陸濟
梁子美
張景温
許端卿
曹輔 字子方紹聖間任
何康直
練定
劉用
索述
唐最
黃育
馮大臨
侯煥
李茂誠

尚用之
程不器
李之紀
楊景
林正 字明輔仙遊人大觀中任
宋孝先
董弁 紹興初任
韓璜
郭孝友 字次仲龍泉人
王珏
李家
劉湛之 字明甫
李仲鰲 廣德人
李作達
路彬 詳名宦
余良弼 字巖起順昌人
吳彥章
黃應南
田如鼇 南康人進士紹興間任
曹繹
彭合
王孝先

方師尹 字民[illegible]人紹興中任
胡襄
滕膺
張維 字振綱劍浦人乾道初任
李椿 乾道中任詳名宦
周自強 字兔仲江山人
林光朝 字謙之莆田人
廖遷 字季能南劍人淳熙中任
詹儀之
林栗 字黃中福清人
梁安世 字次張括蒼人
王正己
胡廷直
鄭丙
趙伯逷 淳熙中任
吳宗旦 字宜之延陵人紹熙初任
傅淇 字滕之仙遊人紹熙中任
徐詡 字七敏浦城人
李孟傳 慶元中任
熊飛
孫紹遠
王寅祖



Figures 10–13. List of Officeholders of the Guangxi Judicial Intendancy, from the "Tables of Offices," juan 51, General Gazetteer of Guangxi (Yongzheng 11 [1733] edition).

3.5 Refuting the Claimed Ancestral Origin: The Exclusionary Silence of the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, and *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*

The systematic absence of records in the documentary sources of the claimed ancestral locality carries strong negative evidentiary significance. The Zhong lineage states that its founding ancestor, Zhong Yiwan, was ancestrally from Chayuan Village, Guangzhou Prefecture, Guangdong, and belonged to the Dongguan Zhong lineage. Whether local gazetteers of the Dongguan region contain any record of Zhong Yiwan therefore serves as a crucial test of the credibility of the Zhong Yiwan narrative within the documentary record of its claimed ancestral locality.

(I) In the long tradition of local gazetteer compilation by scholars native to Dongguan, one may begin with the *Bao'an Xuzhi*, whose chief compiler was Zhuang Gong, a Dongguan

jinshi of the early Yongle period of the Ming dynasty, then proceed to Chen Lian's first compilation of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* in the seventh year of the Zhengtong reign (1442), continue through successive revisions in later dynasties, and conclude with Li Rensun of Guancheng, who compiled the *Draft Catalogue of the Dongguan County Gazetteer* in the thirty-seventh year of the Republic (1948). In total, there are twenty-two extant gazetteer editions concerning the localities associated with the activities attributed to Zhong Yiwan. This demonstrates both the abundance of Dongguan's native scholarly talent and the orderly continuity of its documentary tradition.

The 1639 (Chongzhen 12) edition of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* survives in complete form today. It was revised by Zhang Erguo, Zeng Qixin, and others, with a preface by Wang Yunguang. This edition consciously continued the documentary tradition of earlier Dongguan gazetteers and preserved prefaces from previous compilations, including Chen Lian's preface to the old gazetteer of the seventh year of Zhengtong (1442), Guo Yingmu's preface to an earlier edition, Lu Xiang's preface of the eighth year of Tianshun, and Liu Cunye's preface of the seventeenth year of Hongzhi. The Chongzhen edition contains tables of degree-holders and official recruitment categories, recording Song-period figures selected through numerous channels, including the Eight Conducts category, senior scholars, candidates recommended for classical learning and moral cultivation, jinshi degree-holders, special recommendation quotas, southern personnel rosters, county tribute students, Imperial Academy rosters, titled scholars, and hereditary appointments by imperial favor. Volume Five, "Biographies," further includes sections such as Exemplary Officials, Loyal Martyrs, Scholarly Worthies, and Recluses, each preserving records of numerous Song officials and notable local figures. Later revised county gazetteers largely followed this structure. Yet none of the major *Dongguan County Gazetteer* editions—not the 1639 edition of Zhang Erguo, the

1798 edition of Peng Renjie, nor the 1921 edition of Chen Botao—contains any record whatsoever of Zhong Yiwan.

The *General Gazetteer of Guangdong* likewise corroborates this pattern of silence. Neither the Yongzheng edition nor the Tongzhi edition contains any record of Zhong Yiwan. By contrast, both editions do record contemporaneous figures from Dongguan, such as Xiong Fei and Li Chunsou.

For example, the Yongzheng ninth-year edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, juan 6, records: "...In the sixth month of the second year of the Deyou reign, Yuan forces entered Guangzhou, and Huang Jun, commander of the vanguard, died in battle. In the ninth month of autumn, Xiong Fei of Dongguan and Zeng Fenglong, magistrate of Xinhui, recovered Guangzhou. The imperial flotilla then proceeded to Guangzhou and anchored at Jiazi Gate. In the tenth month of winter, Yuan forces entered Shaozhou, where Zeng Fenglong and Xiong Fei both died." Juan 31 ("Elections") also contains an entry for the contemporaneous Dongguan figure Li Chunsou.

For Similarly, the Tongzhi third-year (1864) edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, juan 186, "Summary of Earlier Events" (Qianshi lüe), preserves the following entry concerning Xiong Fei (熊飛):"...Xiong Fei (熊飛), a native of Dongguan, was defending Chaozhou and Huizhou on behalf of Huang Shixiong (黄世雄). When he learned that Zhao Jin (趙溍) had arrived, he sent troops to support him in attacking Xiong Fei (雄飛) at Guangzhou, where the latter fled.... Lü Shikui (呂師夔) and Zhang Rongshi (張榮實) entered Meiling. Zhao Jin then dispatched Feng Long (逢龍) and Xiong Fei (熊飛) to defend Nanxiong. Feng Long died in battle. Xiong Fei (熊飛) fled to Shaozhou, where the defending commander Liu Zili (劉自立) surrendered the city. Fei then led troops to direct the fighting,

but was defeated and threw himself into the water." Juan 63, the "Register of Selections" (Xuanju biao), also contains an entry for Li Chunsou (李春叟).

The Daoguang edition of the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, juan 77, "Summary of Earlier Events," provides a detailed account of military events in Guangzhou during the Song–Yuan dynastic transition. Yet it contains no record whatsoever of Zhong Yiwan assisting Xiong Fei in resistance against the Yuan forces at Guangzhou.

This sustained silence across provincial-, prefectural-, and county-level gazetteers constitutes a relatively robust structure of negative documentary evidence.

Volume 27, "Biographies" (Renwu zhi), of the Jiaqing edition of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* contains detailed accounts of loyal and righteous figures of the Song dynasty, as well as eminent scholars associated with Learning of Principle. Among them are biographies of Li Yong, Li Chunsou, and Xiong Fei. The biography of Xiong Fei records that he was a native of Liuhua Village, possessed military ability, excelled in horsemanship and archery, became the son-in-law of Li Yong, rose in arms against the Yuan in the first year of the Jingyan reign, and was later killed in battle at Shaozhou after the recovery of Guangzhou. The Republican-period edition of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* is especially rich in documentation and cites its sources clearly, frequently noting references such as "according to the *Qinxuan Ji*" and "according to the *History of Song*," among others.

In the biography of Xiong Fei, an anti-Yuan hero from Dongguan, the recorded events overlap with the Zhong narrative, in which Zhong Yiwan (if the narrative were authentic) was said to have fought alongside him in Guangzhou. Yet the county gazetteer provides a detailed account of Xiong Fei while making no mention whatsoever of Zhong Yiwan. This contrast is highly significant. The fabricator of the Zhong narrative evidently knew of Xiong Fei's historical reputation, for the episode of "coming to Xiong Fei's aid" was deliberately inserted into the Zhong text in an attempt to borrow Xiong Fei's officially recognized status

in order to legitimize Zhong Yiwan. However, this strategy of attaching the narrative to a well-attested historical figure exposes a serious weakness: Xiong Fei, a popular loyalist fighter of humble origin, is clearly documented in multiple official sources, whereas Zhong Yiwan, who was claimed to have held the high office of Judicial Intendant (tixing), leaves no documentary trace at all. The complete disproportion between his alleged status and the total absence of records instead constitutes evidence for the constructed nature of the narrative.

The deeper significance of refutation through ancestral-home evidence lies in the fact that the Zhong family's narrative concerning the early experiences of its founding ancestor cannot be substantiated through local documentary sources. In a plausible family-history narrative, the early phase (events in the ancestral home) should be supported by records from that locality, while the later phase (events in places of migration, official service, or residence) should be documented in the corresponding local sources. The two sets of evidence should be capable of mutually corroborating one another. The problems with the Zhong Yiwan narrative are as follows:(1) Early phase (Guangdong): there are no records whatsoever concerning examination success, official appointments, social connections, or military activities.(2) Later phase (Guangxi): only detailed "deeds" preserved within family materials are claimed, while no official sources record them.(3) The transitional sequence of the narrative (Dongguan → Hunan → Guangxi → Guangzhou → Dongguan → Guangxi): the anti-Yuan account lacks internal coherence and historical plausibility (see Section 4 for details).

This phenomenon of "zero records in the ancestral home" suggests that, when constructing the narrative of their founding ancestor, the Zhong family failed to successfully insert that account into the local memory system of their claimed ancestral homeland. A possible explanation is that historical documentation in Guangdong was comparatively well

preserved, while local gentry and literati were more familiar with regional history. As a result, constructed narratives of this kind were difficult to incorporate into established local memory.

(II) The decisive refutation of the entire Zhong Yiwan narrative by the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* personally compiled by Chen Lian.

This evidence is of crucial significance because Chen Lian's twofold role creates a unique closed evidentiary loop. First, the Zhong family claims that Chen Lian was the author of the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*. Second, Chen Lian was also the first chief compiler of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* and one of the most important documentary recorders of Dongguan's local history. If the *Mubiao* were genuine, Chen Lian, as its allegedly informed author, would scarcely have omitted all mention of this purported high-ranking kinsman associated with anti-Yuan resistance when presiding over the compilation of his native county gazetteer. All extant editions of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* provide detailed accounts of Xiong Fei while containing no reference to Zhong Yiwan, thereby constituting a deductive refutation of the pseudo-attribution embedded in the purported authorial framework of the gazetteer tradition itself. The full threefold logic of documentary negation within Chen Lian's textual record is examined in Section 3.6.3, 3.9.3, and 5.4.

In addition, this section of the county gazetteer also forms a tightly structured logical loop:

- If the *Mubiao* were authentic → Chen Lian, as compiler of the county gazetteer, would necessarily have recorded Zhong Yiwan → yet successive editions contain no record of him.
- If the *Mubiao* were a forgery → the Zhong family's narrative loses its core external endorsement → thereby confirming it as a lineage construction → hence successive editions contain no record of him.

- In either case → the silence of the county gazetteer constitutes a crucial refutation of the constructed narrative.

The unique value of this logical closure lies in the fact that it uses the very "evidence" supplied by the narrative constructors themselves (namely, the *Mubiao* attributed to Chen Lian) to overturn their own claim. The Zhong family attempted to associate themselves with Chen Lian in order to enhance the credibility of their narrative, yet Chen Lian's own writings instead became evidence for its refutation. This is a highly typical case of "self-refutation" in the study of constructed historical narratives.

3.6 Refutation through Officeholding Localities: Structural Exclusion in the *Quanzhou Gazetteer*, the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*, and Chen Lian's *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*

3.6.1 At the Quanzhou Level: Dual Absence of Official Office Establishments and Personal Records.

In the Zhong family's narrative, "In 1262, Deng Deyu, the Tixingshi of Guangzhou Lu (廣州路提刑使), deeply appreciated Zhong Yiwan's character and moral integrity and recruited him into his service," yet Zhong himself held no official position (this issue will be analyzed in greater detail in Section 5.1).

However, a report on the Yulin CPPCC website revised the narrative to state that Zhong Yiwan "initially served as Quanzhou Budianguan (全州捕點官)," then as "Tixing Zhishi (提刑知事)," and was later promoted to "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi (廣西全州路提刑使)." None of these official titles are recorded in the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (*Quanzhou Zhi*) or the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi*). The issues concerning these official titles have already been analyzed in Section 2.4 and will not be repeated here.

In the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* compiled by Huang Zhizhang in the twenty-ninth year of the Kangxi reign, the Song-dynasty sections on official administration—including lists of officials at various levels and biographies of distinguished officials—as well as the literary treatise sections—including records, poems, miscellaneous notes, chronicles, and appendices—are likewise entirely absent.

In the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* compiled by Wen Zhicheng in the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign of the Qing dynasty, juan 18, "Records of Official Posts" (Zhiguan Zhi), provides a detailed record of the successive Song-dynasty offices in Quanzhou, including Prefect and Military Commissioner (zhizhou junshi), Professor (jiaoshou), Vice Prefect (tongpan), Judicial Secretary (tuiguan), Recording Secretary (lushi canjun), Judicial Administration Officer (sili canjun), Judicial Officer (sifa canjun), Revenue Officer (sihu canjun), Magistrate of Qingxiang (Qingxiang ling), Assistant Magistrate (cheng), Commandant (wei), and Registrar (lu). Together, these offices constituted a complete prefecture-level bureaucratic system.

In summary, neither edition of the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (*Quanzhou Zhi*) records: (1) the name of Zhong Yiwan; or (2) any of the official titles claimed by the Zhong family and the Yulin CPPCC website, including "Quanzhou Budian Guan" (全州捕點官), "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事), "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄), and "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (廣西全州路提刑使).

In the actual Song-dynasty administrative system, prefectural-level judicial affairs involving "litigation, penal adjudication, and judicial interrogation" were handled by the Judicial Administration Officer (sili canjun 司理參軍), a centrally appointed civil official whose rank ranged from the Lower Eighth Rank to the Lower Ninth Rank. The selection criteria were strictly limited to scholars with jinshi (進士) credentials (for example, the prefectural gazetteer records that Huang Guan, a jinshi, served during the Dazhong Xiangfu

period).[22]Specific regulations included: “those who obtained degrees through the enke (恩科) were not permitted to receive appointment”; “judicial affairs were to be treated as the primary responsibility, and concurrent posts were not permitted”; “those who had not passed the quan shi (銓試) were not permitted to receive judicial appointments”; “appointments required qualified recommendations approved by the Judicial Intendancy (tixing si 提刑司)”; and “those over sixty years of age were prohibited from serving as judicial officials.” If even a minor prefectural-level Judicial Administration Officer, whose appointment required approval by the Judicial Intendancy, was subject to such stringent qualifications, then the requirements for a lu-level “Guangxi Judicial Intendant” (Guangxi tidian xingyu 廣西提點刑獄) would have been all the more demanding.

It is thus evident that the so-called “Quanzhou Budian Guan” (全州捕點官), “Tixing Zhishi” (提刑知事), and “Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi” (廣西全州路提刑使) were later constructions created to provide Zhong Yiwan with an official pedigree and bureaucratic identity. This dual absence—both in the gazetteer’s records of individuals and in its records of official positions—constitutes, at the level of his alleged posting in Quanzhou, an exclusionary negation of Zhong Yiwan’s official career.

3.6.2 Guilin Level: Anomalous Silence in the Record System of the Circuit Intendancies

In the Kangxi edition of the Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer (*Guilin Fuzhi*), compiled by Cheng Keze and arranged without volume divisions, Deng Deyu and Ma Ji are both recorded in the sections “Official Posts” (Zhiguan) and “Distinguished Officials” (Minghuan), whereas no record whatsoever exists for Zhong Yiwan.

[22]Jiaqing edition of *Quanzhou Zhi* (嘉慶《全州志》, Quanzhou Gazetteer), juan 5, “Zhiguan” (“Official Posts”).

Within the “Official Posts” (Zhiguan) section, under the Song-dynasty entry for the Judicial Intendants of Guangnan West Circuit (廣南西道提點刑獄), a total of 140 individuals are recorded. Deng Deyu is still categorized under “Judicial Intendant” (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄), whereas Ma Ji is categorized under “Guangxi Pacification Commissioner” (Guangxi jinglüe shi 廣西經略使). The official categorization of these two figures is consistent with that found in the General Gazetteer of Guangxi (*Guangxi Tongzhi* 廣西通志).

The preceding discussion (Section 3.4) has already established, at the documentary level, that Deng Deyu was the final Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄) of Guangxi. However, the editorial arrangement of the list of Judicial Intendants in the Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志) may give rise to certain questions regarding the identification of the final officeholder—for example, it may appear to suggest that the list does not terminate chronologically with Deng Deyu, thereby leaving interpretive space for the claim that “Zhong Yiwan succeeded him in office.” It is therefore necessary to conduct a focused analysis in order to demonstrate, from the perspective of the internal logic of the documentary records, that the apologetic claim surrounding the narrative of “Zhong Yiwan succeeding him” lacks any verifiable basis.

A Chronological Examination of the Order of the Last Five “Distinguished Officials” (Minghuan) in the List of Judicial Intendants in the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer*:

The Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志) records a total of 140 individuals under the Song-dynasty list of Guangxi Judicial Intendants (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄). Occupying the final positions in the list are five “Distinguished Officials” (Minghuan 名宦), namely Deng Deyu, Cui Yuzhi, Yang Dayi, Yang Fang, and Dong Huai. The Zhong family’s narrative that “Deng Deyu was promoted to Pacification Commissioner, and Zhong Yiwan succeeded him as Judicial Intendant” implicitly

presupposes that there must have been a successor after Deng Deyu. However, an examination of the actual years of service of these five distinguished officials effectively rules out such an assumption.

Firstly, at the level of documentary organization: the arrangement logic of the distinguished officials is unrelated to chronological sequence.

The Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志) appends a separately listed section of "Distinguished Officials" (Minghuan 名宦) at the end of the roster of Judicial Intendants. The ordering logic of this section is not based strictly on chronological sequence, but rather on a weighted consideration of historical significance and documentary authority. Because Deng Deyu was included in the "Biographies of Loyal and Righteous Officials" in the *History of Song* (*Song Shi ·Zhongyi Zhuan* 宋史・忠義傳), his historical influence and documentary authority far exceeded those of the other figures listed alongside him, and he was therefore placed first among the distinguished officials. This differs from the Tongzhi edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* (*Guangxi Tongzhi* 廣西通志), juan 21, "Table of Official Posts 9" (Zhiguan biao jiu 職官表九), which places Deng Deyu at the end of the list and strictly follows chronological order in its compilation structure—the latter adheres to chronological sequencing, whereas the former also takes historical significance into account. Therefore, Deng Deyu's position at the head of the distinguished officials in the Kangxi edition cannot be used to infer that he held office earlier than the other distinguished officials.

Secondly, at the level of official service records: the terms of office of all four distinguished officials predated that of Deng Deyu.

According to an examination of relevant local gazetteers and official histories, the periods during which the above four Distinguished Officials (Minghuan 名宦) served as

Guangxi Judicial Intendants (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄) all demonstrably predated Deng Deyu's tenure, which extended from the Xianchun era to the second year of the Deyou era (approximately 1265–1276). The detailed evidential findings are as follows:

1. Cui Yuzhi (崔與之)

According to the Tongzhi edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* (*Guangxi Tongzhi* 廣西通志), juan 21, "Table of Official Posts 8" (Zhiguan biao ba 職官表八): "During the Kaixi era, he served as Vice Prefect (tongpan 通判) of Yongzhou (邕州), acted as prefect of Xunzhou (潯州), was promoted and appointed to administer the military affairs of Binzhou (賓州軍事), and during the Jiading era (1208–1224) was transferred to the post of Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi tidian xingyu 廣西提點刑獄)." The Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志), in its section on "Distinguished Officials" (Minghuan 名宦), likewise records his official service record: "His courtesy name was Zhengzi (正子). A native of Guangzhou, he was appointed Judicial Officer (sifa canjun 司法參軍) of Xunzhou in the early Shaoxing era... was promoted to administer the military affairs of Binzhou... and was later appointed Guangxi Judicial Intendant..." His tenure thus predates Deng Deyu's by approximately half a century, and there was neither chronological overlap nor any successor relationship between the two.

2. Yang Dayi

According to the Tongzhi edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, juan 21, "Table of Official Posts 9" (Zhiguan biao jiu 職官表九): "His courtesy name was Tongbo (同伯), and he was a native of Liling during the Southern Song dynasty. He obtained the jinshi degree in the thirteenth year of the Jiading reign under Emperor Ningzong. After serving as Household Officer (hu cao 戶曹) of Jizhou, he was reassigned as Guangxi Jinggan

(廣西經幹). During the Jingding era (1260–1264), he held the post of zhimi ge (直秘閣) and concurrently served as Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi tidian xingyu 廣西提點刑獄), while also overseeing the Transport and Granary Offices.” His tenure fell within the Jingding era (1260–1264), predating Deng Deyu’s tenure (Deng was transferred to the post of Guangxi Judicial Intendant during the Xianchun era, whose first year was 1265). The chronological succession is therefore clear, leaving no room for the claim that “Zhong Yiwan succeeded him.”

3. Yang Fang

According to the Tongzhi edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, juan 20, “Table of Official Posts 8” (Zhiguan biao ba 職官表八): “His courtesy name was Zizhi (子直), and he was a native of Changting. During the Jiading era (1208–1224), he served as Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi tidian xingyu 廣西提點刑獄).” His tenure predates Deng Deyu’s by an even greater margin and therefore requires no further elaboration.

4. Dong Huai

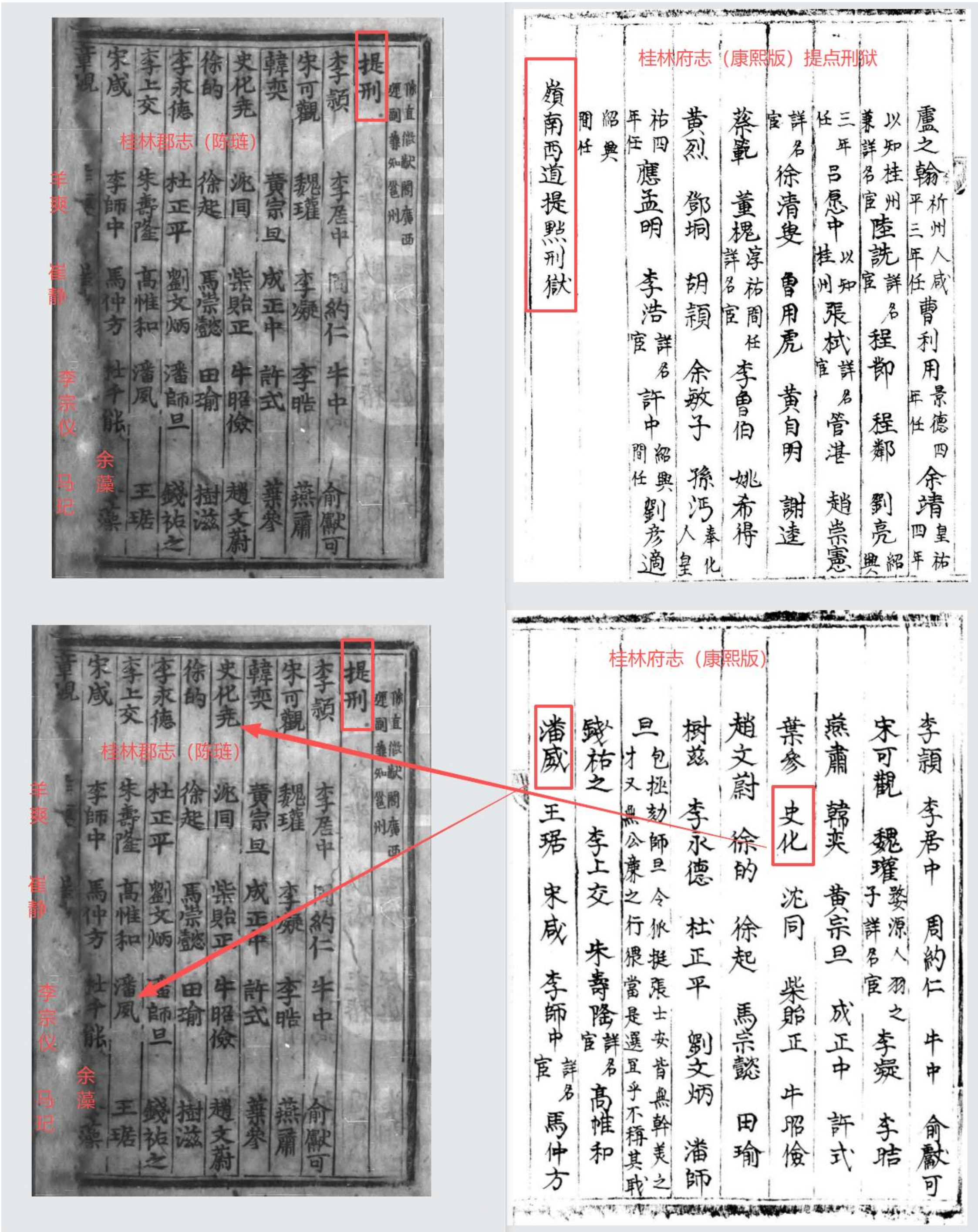
This case is somewhat exceptional and therefore requires a separate analysis. The Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志), in its “Biographies of Distinguished Officials” (Minghuan zhuan 名宦傳), records Dong Huai as: “Courtesy name Tingzhi (庭直), a native of Dingyuan in Haozhou; during the Chunyou era, he served as Guangxi Yunpan (廣西運判) and concurrently held the post of Judicial Intendant (tixing 提刑),” thus classifying him among the distinguished officials under the Judicial Intendants. However, the Tongzhi edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, juan 21, “Table of Official Posts 9” (Zhiguan biao jiu 職官表九), classifies him under the category of “Transport Vice Commissioners” (zhuanyun panguan 轉運判官), recording him as: “Courtesy name Tingzhi (廷植), a native of Dingyuan in Haozhou; he obtained the jinshi

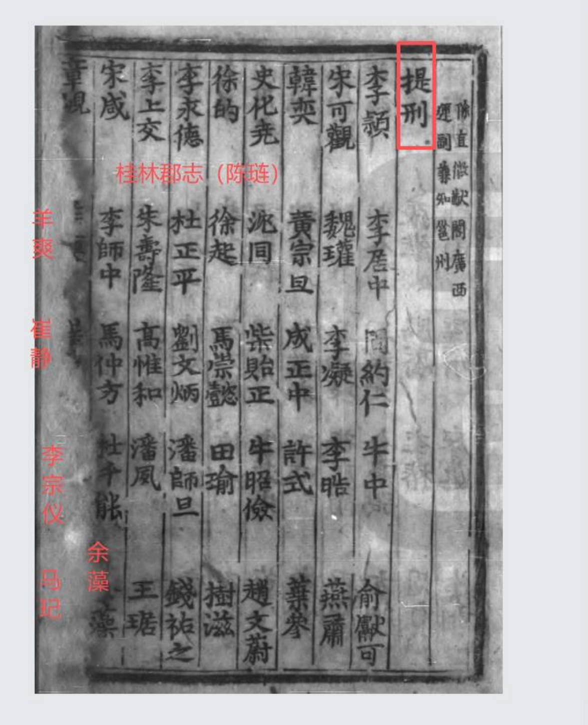
degree in the sixth year of the Jiading reign, and in the sixth year of the Chunyou era (1246) served as Guangxi Yunpan (廣西運判) concurrently holding the post of Judicial Intendant (tixing 提刑).” The difference in classification between the two editions reflects differing compilation structures: Dong Huai’s primary office was that of Yunpan, while he concurrently held the post of Judicial Intendant. Accordingly, the Tongzhi edition places him within the Yunpan administrative sequence, whereas the Kangxi edition includes him among the distinguished officials of the Judicial Intendants because he concurrently held the office of tixing. Regardless of classification, his tenure began in the sixth year of the Chunyou era (1246), which predates Deng Deyu’s tenure, and therefore no successor relationship existed between them.

3.6.3 Reverse Corroboration from the Gazetteer Compiler: The Silence of Chen Lian’s Compiled *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*

Section 3.5 has already revealed, at the level of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (*Dongguan Xianzhi* 東莞縣誌) concerning the ancestral home, the inherent contradiction between Chen Lian’s identity as the purported “author of the *Mubiao*” and the fact that the county gazetteer contains no record of Zhong Yiwan. This section further undertakes a dedicated evidential examination of the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), personally compiled by Chen Lian. In order to enhance the credibility of their narrative, the Zhong family claims that Chen Lian, who served as Professor of Guilin Prefecture (Guilin Fu Jiaoshou 桂林府教授) in the early Ming dynasty, wrote the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* for Zhong Yiwan. In volumes 4 and 5 of Chen Lian’s compiled *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, under the section “Lists of Names” (Timing 題名), a detailed roster of Song-dynasty Judicial Intendants (tixing 提刑) is recorded. Through textual collation with the

Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志), it can be seen that the sequence of names in the two versions is basically consistent (see Figures 14–19).

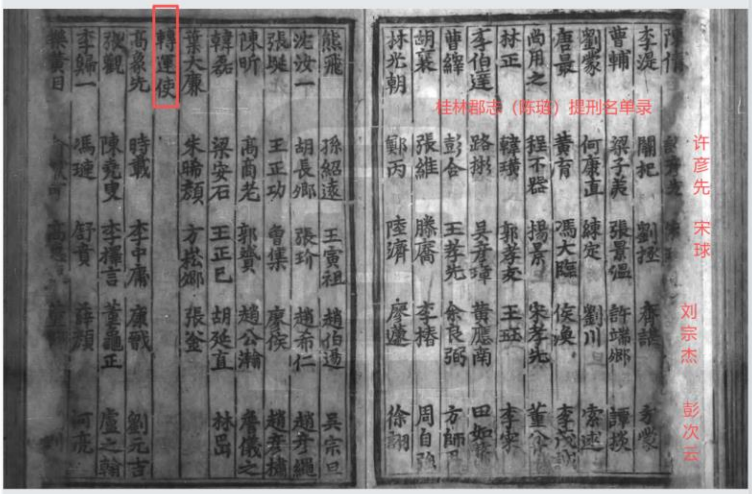




陳直徽猷閣廣西
運副兼知邕州
提刑
李頴 李居中 閻約仁 牛中 俞獻可
宋可觀 魏瓘 李凝 李晧 燕肅
韓奕 黃宗旦 成正中 許式 葉參
史化堯 沈同 柴貽正 牛昭儉 趙文蔚
徐的 徐起 馬崇懿 田瑜 樹滋
李永德 杜正平 劉文炳 潘師旦 錢祐之
李上交 朱壽隆 高惟和 潘夙 王琚
宋咸 李師中 馬仲方 杜千能 余藻
章峴

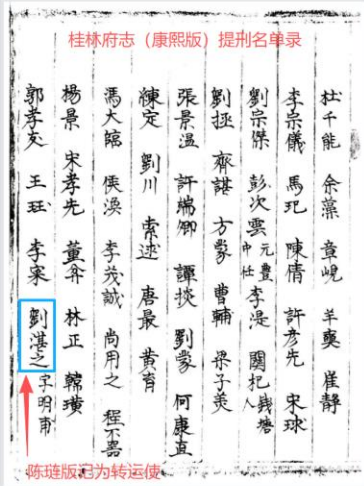


杜千能 余藻 章峴 羊奭 崔靜
李宗儀 馬玘 陳倩 許彥先 宋球
劉宗傑 彭次雲 元豐中任 李湜 闔把人 錢塘
劉拯 齊諶 方蒙 曹輔 梁子美
張景溫 許端卿 譚掞 劉蒙 何康直
練定 劉川 索述 唐最 黃育
馮大臨 侯渙 李茂誠 尚用之 程不器
楊景 宋孝先 董介 林正 韓璜
郭孝友 王珏 李寀 劉湛之 字明甫

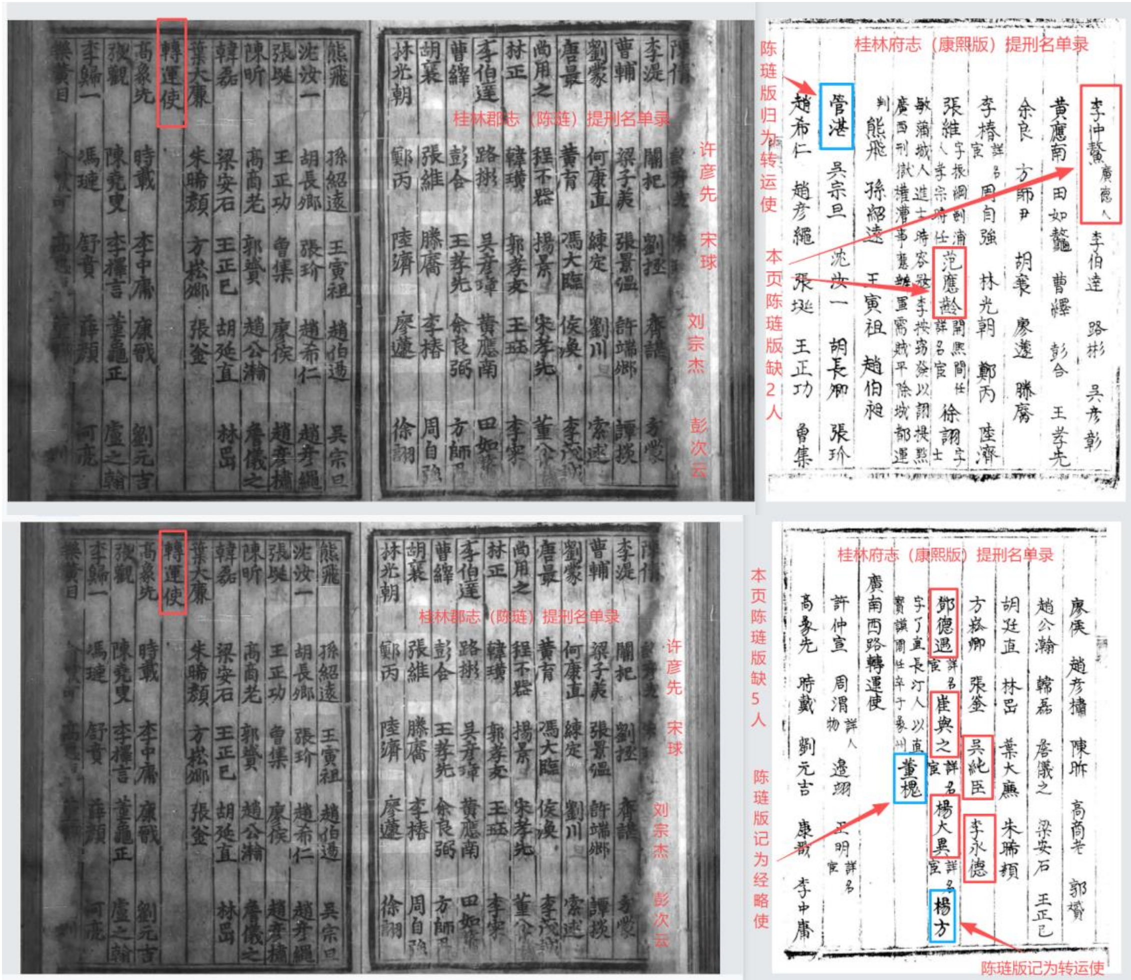


陳倩
李湜 闔把 劉拯 齊諶 方蒙
曹輔 梁子美 張景溫 許端卿 譚掞
劉蒙 何康直 練定 劉川 索述
唐最 黃育 馮大臨 侯渙 李茂誠
尚用之 程不器 楊景 宋孝先 董介
林正 韓璜 郭孝友 王珏 李寀
李伯達 路彬 吳彥璋 黃應南 田如
曹緯 彭合 王孝先 余良弼 方師尹
胡襄 張維 滕膺 李椿 周自強
林光朝 鄭丙 陸濟 廖遽 徐翊

熊飛 孫紹遠 王寅祖 趙伯遇 吳宗旦
沈汝一 胡長卿 張玠 趙希仁 趙彥綱
張埏 王正功 曾集 廖俁 趙彥橚
陳昕 高商老 郭贇 趙公瀚 詹儀之
韓磊 梁安石 王正巳 胡延直 林岊
葉大廉 朱晞顏 方崧卿 張釜
轉運使
高象先 時戴 李中庸 康戩 劉元吉
孫觀 陳堯叟 李擇言 董龜正 盧之翰
李歸一 馮璉 舒賁 薛顏 何亮
樂黃目



杜千能 余藻 章峴 羊奭 崔靜
李宗儀 馬玘 陳倩 許彥先 宋球
劉宗傑 彭次雲 元豐中任 李湜 闔把人 錢塘
劉拯 齊諶 方蒙 曹輔 梁子美
張景溫 許端卿 譚掞 劉蒙 何康直
練定 劉川 索述 唐最 黃育
馮大臨 侯渙 李茂誠 尚用之 程不器
楊景 宋孝先 董介 林正 韓璜
郭孝友 王珏 李寀 劉湛之 字明甫



Figures 14–19. Comparative Collation of the "Tixing" (提刑) Name Registers in Chen Lian's Edition of the Guilin Commandery Gazetteer (Guilin Junzhi 桂林郡志), juan 4–5, and the Kangxi Edition of the Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer (Guilin Fuzhi 桂林府志), which contains no juan divisions.

Four individuals (Li Zongyi, Ma Qi, Liu Zongjie, and Peng Ciyun) in Chen Lian's edition of the register have become partially illegible due to deterioration and textual blurring over time. Nevertheless, all four can still be reliably identified through their corresponding sequential positions in the roster of Judicial Intendants in the Kangxi edition of the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志).

Another five individuals (Yu Zao, Yang Shuang, Cui Jing, Xu Yanxian, and Song Qiu), although some characters in their names are partially damaged, can still be identified through comparative textual collation.

In the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), Liu Zhanzhi, Yang Fang, and Guan Zhan are classified under the category of "Zhuanyunshi" (轉運使), while Dong Huai is recorded under "Guangxi Pacification Commissioner" (Guangxi jinglüe shi 廣西經略使).

Through comparison between the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志) and the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Guilin Fuzhi* 桂林府志), Chen Lian's edition is shown to omit seven individuals, including Li Zhong'ao and Fan Yingling.

The above textual comparison reveals a double-layered structure of evidential negation within the "Name Lists" (Timing 題名) in juan 4 and 5 of the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志):

First, exclusion on chronological grounds. Given that the register strictly follows the sequence of official appointments, the four previously mentioned individuals rendered illegible through textual deterioration all belong to earlier periods rather than to the late Song dynasty. On this basis, the hypothesis that "Zhong Yiwan was obscured through age-related deterioration and textual blurring" can be ruled out. If Zhong Yiwan had indeed succeeded Deng Deyu, his name should have appeared at the very end of the register rather than within the illegible portions.

Second, exclusion on grounds of textual integrity. Even in Chen Lian's edition of the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), despite the omission of seven individuals, the register of Judicial Intendants (tixing mingdan 提刑名單) nevertheless remains silent on Zhong Yiwan.

The decisive force of the evidence—namely, the absence of any record of Zhong Yiwan in Chen Lian's edition of the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志)—is manifested on three levels:

First, the distinctive significance of the author's identity. Chen Lian (1370–1454), a jiaoshou (professor) of Guilin Prefecture in the early Ming dynasty, was the very person in whose name the Zhong lineage forged the *Mubiao*. Had Zhong Yiwan truly served as "Guangxi Tixing," then when Chen Lian compiled the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), he might conceivably have omitted Deng Deyu—a figure recorded in the *Song Shi*—but it would have been absolutely impossible for him to omit "the Tixing relative (qinqi 亲戚)—Zhong Yiwan," the very man for whom he had supposedly composed the *Mubiao* with his own hand. Chen Lian's silence thus demonstrates that, in the early Ming period, he had no knowledge whatsoever of any person called "Tixing Zhong Yiwan," let alone that he had ever composed a *Mubiao* for such a person.

Second, the authority of the documentary hierarchy. As a local gazetteer personally compiled by Chen Lian, the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志) belongs to the category of officially compiled Ming-dynasty sources, and its historical value far exceeds that of later Zhong family genealogies and the so-called *Mubiao* composed under Chen Lian's name. When an author's own work contradicts a text attributed under his name, the principle of the primacy of an author's original text requires that priority be given to the Guilin Commandery Gazetteer's negating evidence against the *Mubiao* narrative. This forms a complete evidential closed loop in which the author's own work serves as proof against the forgery committed under his name.

Third, the evidential irreversibility of the three-fold corroborative structure. This evidence, together with the absence of records in the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (*Dongguan Xianzhi* 東莞縣誌) and the *Qinxuan Ji* (琴軒集) (see Section 5.4 for details), forms a three-

fold corroborative structure: (1) Chen Lian's collected works do not contain the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*; (2) Chen Lian's historical writings—namely, the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* and the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*—contain no record of Zhong Yiwan as a claimed tixing. The simultaneous silence across multiple works of different genres constitutes a highly anomalous pattern in comparative documentary practice. These three strands of evidence mutually reinforce one another, forming a relatively rigorous evidential closed loop that renders the "omission hypothesis" logically untenable.

Logical inference: In constructing their narrative, the Zhong family may merely have heard of Chen Lian's reputation for composing *Mubiao* and commemorative inscriptions for fellow natives of Dongguan, and therefore hastily composed the *Mubiao* under his name. However, they either failed to examine, or had no access to, Chen Lian's *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (*Guilin Junzhi* 桂林郡志), and were thus unaware that Chen Lian's own records had already formed a prior documentary negation of their constructed narrative. This oversight reflects a typical limitation of narrative builders who seek legitimacy through association with famous figures without thoroughly examining their writings.

Thus, the refutation through place of appointment escalates from the mere absence of records in local gazetteers to refutation by the purported author himself, completing a progression in evidential reasoning from "documentary absence" to "authorial refutation." The traces of Zhong Yiwan's alleged tenure in places such as Quanzhou, Jingjiang Prefecture, and Guilin were not only excluded from the system of local historical records, but were also absent from the writings of Chen Lian—the very person whom the Zhong family claimed to be the author of the *Mubiao*. This constitutes the strongest level of refutational evidence within the multi-system framework of cross-documentary refutation.

3.7 Refutation through the Alleged Support Locations (Changsha and Guangzhou): *The History of Song*, the *Changsha Prefecture Gazetteer*, and the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* Provide Detailed Accounts of the Song–Yuan Wars Yet Contain No Record of Zhong Yiwan

The biography of Deng Deyu in the *History of Song* records: "In the first year of the Deyou era, Changsha came under military attack, and Deng Deyu dispatched the commanders Ma Ji and Ma Yingqi to provide military assistance. Ma Ji secretly defected and fled back, whereupon Deng Deyu executed him and entrusted all military affairs to Ma Yingqi." However, the Zhong family narrative makes no mention of Ma Yingqi and instead substitutes Zhong Yiwan for him. As for the record of the Changsha campaign in the biography of Li Fu in the *History of Song*, a detailed analysis is provided in Section 4.3.

The Lü Sugao edition of the Qianlong reign and the Pan Yi edition of the Jiajing reign of the *Changsha Prefecture Gazetteer* contain no separate annals section. Records concerning the wars of the Song–Yuan transition are instead scattered across sections such as "Geographical Evolution" (yange 沿革) and the biographies of notable officials (minghuan 名宦), including Ariq Qaya and Li Fu. For example, the "Geographical Evolution" section in juan 1 of the Jiajing edition records: "... In the first year of the Kaiqing era (1259), the Mongol general Uriyangqatai laid siege to Tanzhou; in the first year of the Deyou era (1275), Ariq Qaya sought to capture Tanzhou; in the second year of the Deyou era (1276), Yuan forces captured Tanzhou, and the defending generals Wu Jiming and Liu Xiaozhong surrendered the city."

The Guangxu 5 (1879) edition of the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, compiled by Dai Zhaochen, records in juan 77, "Historical Sketches III," a detailed account of events in Guangzhou from: "In the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign (1276), corresponding to the first year of the Jingyan reign of the Song Prince Yi (Emperor Duanzong), in the sixth month,

Ariq Qaya dispatched troops to capture Guangzhou"; to "In the ninth month, Xiong Fei of Dongguan recaptured the city"; then "In the twelfth month, Zhao Jin abandoned Guangzhou"; and finally "In the second year of the Jingyan reign (1277), Yuan forces captured Guangzhou, and all the prefectures of Guangdong surrendered." The narrative is highly detailed throughout. In compiling the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, the editors drew extensively upon earlier sources such as the *Yupi Lidai Tongjian Jilan*, *Tongjian Jilan*, *Yashan Zhi*, the "Annals of the Two Kings" in the *History of Song*, *Tongjian Gangmu*, and *Nan Song Shu*. The account records numerous figures from both the Song and Yuan sides, including Xiong Fei, Ariq Qaya, Xu Zhiliang, Liang Xiongfei, Li Xingdao, Huang Jun, Zeng Shizhuo, Yang Yin, Huang Shijie, Tang Yuan, Chen Shi, Xie Xian, Zhao Jin, Zhao Qi, Zeng Fenglong, Liu Yinglong, Yao Liangchen, Chen Yizhong, Zhang Shijie, and Fang Xing. Even obscure local figures such as "the local resident Zhao Ruogang" and "Chen Yong of the Loyal and Brave Naval Forces" are recorded. Yet there is no trace whatsoever of the so-called "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Zhong Yiwan," who allegedly came from afar to reinforce Guangzhou. In actual historical records, the local official who rushed to Guangzhou's aid was Zeng Fenglong, the magistrate of Xinhui, not Zhong Yiwan.

Therefore, the narrative that "Zhong Yiwan traveled thousands of miles to aid Changsha and Guangzhou" finds no corroboration in extant official documents.

3.8 Refutation through the Claimed Place of Residence: The Diachronic Refutation Recorded in the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* (*Yulin Zhouzhi* 鬱林州志) and the Threefold Contradictions in Place-Name Evolution, Administrative Status, and Historical Transformation.

3.8.1 The Diachronic Refutation Recorded in the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*

The *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*, revised by Qiu Guishan in the 57th year of the Qianlong reign (1792), records in detail the officials of Yulin at the end of the Song dynasty in juan 8, "Officials" (Zhiguan 職官): "Chen Ying, a native of Baizhou, served [as magistrate of Nanliu] in the early Chunyou period (the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* records this as during the Xianchun era), and was enshrined in the Zhonggong Shrine (Zhonggong Ci 忠功祠). According to the old gazetteer: Ying, courtesy name Boshun, sobriquet Zhucun... was promoted from Colonel (Xiaowei 校尉) to Magistrate of Nanliu. Because of his meritorious service in recapturing the city, as detailed in the stele of the Zhonggong Shrine, he was promoted to Prefect of Tengzhou, though he did not assume office. When Yuan forces arrived in great numbers and Judicial Intendant Deng Deyu died in the conflict, Ying narrowly escaped death, changed his name and concealed his identity, and lived in seclusion on Yashan Mountain in the prefecture."

Juan 5, "Sacrificial Rites" (Sidian 祀典), further quotes in full the Hongwu-era "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*" (忠功碑), once again confirming the deeds of Deng Deyu and Chen Ying. However, in these two sections most closely related to the history of the late Song period, there is no record whatsoever of Zhong Yiwan. If Zhong Yiwan had truly lived in seclusion in Yulin for more than forty years, and had "instructed his descendants" while "refusing to use Yuan reign era names," records or anecdotes concerning him as a yimin (遺

民, loyalist of the fallen dynasty) should have circulated locally. Yet the *Qianlong Gazetteer* contains no record of him at all.

In 1894, during the 20th year of the Guangxu reign of the Qing dynasty, Feng Decai and Quan Wenbing revised and expanded the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* on the basis of the Qianlong edition. Juan 18, “Annals” (Jishibian 紀事編), once again records in detail historical events from the late Song dynasty, yet still contains no record of Zhong Yiwan. More importantly, juan 20, “Literary Records” (Yiwen 藝文), includes Ding Shanqing’s “*Record of the Reconstruction of the Zhonggong Shrine*” (*Fujian Zhonggong Ci Ji* 復建忠功祠記), written in the 18th year of the Daoguang reign (1838). The inscription records the reconstruction process of the Zhonggong Shrine (Zhonggong Ci 忠功祠).

“In the 18th year of the Daoguang reign (1838), Mr. Chi of Yueting, having been appointed in the guimei year to supervise education in Guangxi, visited the various prefectures, departments, and counties immediately upon assuming office in order to seek out publicly recognized examples of loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and righteousness... Thereupon, he donated one hundred taels of silver as an initial contribution... By the yiwei year, the reconstruction was completed... The local literati and gentry therefore petitioned the Educational Commissioner for the restoration of this shrine, considering that it could not be compared with an ordinary private shrine of a single locality. They further requested that official sacrificial rites be conducted there in the same manner as during the tenure of Prefect Zhao in the preceding Ming dynasty. The two gentlemen surnamed Quan and Liang, who had assisted Duke Chen in attempting to recapture the city but died before succeeding, were also, on account of their righteousness, petitioned to be enshrined alongside Duke Chen in the sacrificial rites. They moreover earnestly requested that an inscription be engraved on a stele so that these loyal and righteous deeds might be preserved for posterity.”

This inscription reveals several key points: (1) the Qing government attached considerable importance to the Zhonggong Shrine, recognizing it as an officially sponsored sacrificial shrine rather than a private local ancestral shrine; (2) during its reconstruction, the two examination candidates, Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, were additionally granted sacrificial enshrinement alongside the existing figures; (3) "Immediately upon assuming office, I traveled through all prefectures, departments, and counties to examine and identify individuals who had been publicly recommended for their loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and righteousness;" yet Zhong Yiwan was still not included in the supplementary enshrinement list.

This process of diachronic refutation is particularly compelling. By the Daoguang period, more than 560 years had passed since the fall of the Song dynasty. When local elites in Yulin petitioned to add additional figures for sacrificial enshrinement, they would inevitably have conducted a comprehensive review of those associated with resistance against the Yuan at the end of the Song dynasty. Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, who merely "died while assisting Duke Chen in the unsuccessful attempt to recapture the city," possessed deeds far less prominent than the "Tixingshi" status claimed by the Zhong family for Zhong Yiwan, yet they were nevertheless discovered and granted sacrificial enshrinement. If Zhong Yiwan had truly possessed the claimed identity of an anti-Yuan "tixing," and if this had indeed been attested by Chen Lian's *Mubiao*, there would have been no plausible reason for his exclusion. His absence from the list of newly enshrined figures suggests that the officials responsible for reviewing the petition did not recognize the authenticity of the claims concerning his deeds.

3.8.2 Refutation of the Claimed Place of Residence "Yulin Prefecture (鬱林州), Dongning Township (東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*), Xi'an Fort (bao,西岸堡)": The Threefold Contradictions in Place-Name Evolution, Administrative Status, and Historical Transformation.

The *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* (hereafter, the *Mubiao*) records that after the fall of the Song dynasty, Zhong Yiwan "took refuge at Baichanquan (白潺泉) in Xi'an Fort (西岸堡), Dongning Township (東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*), Yulin Prefecture, where he reclaimed land for cultivation." The *Mubiao* is dated to the first month of the Bingchen year of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376). This place designation incorporates a three-tier administrative hierarchy—Yulin Prefecture → Dongning Township → Xi'an Fort—a combination first attested in the *Yulin Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Yulin Zhouzhi*) compiled in the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign (1894). However, when these three administrative tiers are examined individually within the institutional framework of historical administrative geography appropriate to their respective periods, neither "Dongning Township" nor "Xi'an Fort" can be corroborated by any documentary evidence dating to around the ninth year of the Hongwu reign. It should be emphasized that these are not two aspects of a single toponymic problem, but rather three independent dimensions of institutional anachronism: (1) the official replacement of Dongning (東寧) with the homophonous form Dongning (東凝), a change not documented until the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign (1894); (2) the creation of Xi'an Fort (西岸堡) as a civil administrative unit without any prior documentary basis, first attested in the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign (1792); and (3) the establishment of an administrative relationship whereby a township exercised jurisdiction over a fort (bao, 堡). These three elements emerged at different times and through different institutional logics, yet were simultaneously embedded in a text purportedly composed in 1376. The

simultaneous occurrence of two toponymic anachronisms and two anachronisms in the administrative hierarchy, all exceeding the purported date of the text, constitutes a threefold displacement that cannot be resolved on such grounds. Among these, the issue of "Xi'an Fort" is comparatively more complex, involving three mutually independent lines of analysis: toponymic evolution, the institutional norms governing bao (堡), and its historical transformation. Taken together, these three dimensions constitute a systematic negation, at the level of the claimed place of residence, of the *Mubiao* as a text constructed at a later date. The following analysis proceeds through these dimensions in sequence.

3.8.2.1 "Dongning Township" (凝, "Congeal") (東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*): A Place Name Established Only in the Late Qing period and Persistently at Odds with Ming-Period Documentary Sources.

If the *Mubiao* had indeed been composed in the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376), then the place name "Dongning Township" (東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*) should have been attested in contemporary documentary sources. However, an examination of extant local gazetteers from successive dynasties reveals precisely the opposite.

In the *Yuan Yitongzhi*, under the entry for Yulin Prefecture, the section entitled "Fangguo Xiangzhen" (urban wards and rural settlements) records: Dongxiang and Luya.[23]

The xiangli (鄉里) administrative divisions of Yulin Prefecture recorded in the *Collected Lost Records of the Yongle Encyclopedia* (*Yongle Dadian Fangzhi Jiyi* 永樂大典

[23](Yuan) Bolanxi (孛蘭肹) et al., comp., *Yuan yitong zhi* (《元一統志》), collated by Zhao Wanli (趙萬里), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1966: 731.

方誌輯佚) are: Dongning Township (東寧鄉), Fumin Township (富民鄉), Guiping Township (貴平鄉), and Fukang Township (撫康鄉).[24]

According to the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* (*Guangxi Tongzhi* 廣西通志), compiled by Lin Fu and Huang Zuo in the ninth year of the Jiajing reign of the Ming dynasty (1530): "Qinggutun is located in Dongning Township (東寧鄉). The registered farmland totaled 15 qing, 50 mu, and 8 qiu, with an annual grain levy of 568 shi and 3 dou."[25]

During the Ming dynasty, Yulin Prefecture was subordinate to Wuzhou Prefecture. According to the *Wuzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* compiled by Xie Junhui in the fourth year of the Chongzhen reign (1631), the administrative divisions of Yulin Prefecture included the eastern, western, southern, and northern suburban districts (Dongxiang, Xixiang, Nanxiang, and Beixiang), as well as Fumin Township (comprising eight tu), Guiping Township (comprising seven tu), Dongning Township (comprising nine tu), and Fukang Township (comprising nine du).[26]

During the Yuan dynasty, only "Dongxiang" (東鄉) and "Lüya" (綠鵶) existed. Throughout the Ming dynasty, the place-name was consistently recorded as "Dongning Township" (Dongning Xiang 東寧鄉); the form written as 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form* never appeared. During the Qing dynasty, the 1792 edition of the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*, compiled in the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign, still recorded the prefecture's five-township administrative structure and listed the name as "Dongning Township" (東寧鄉).[27]Under its

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[24](Ming) Xie Jin (解縉), comp.; Ma Rong (馬蓉) et al., collators, *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (《永樂大典方志輯佚》), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004, vol. 5, "Yulin zhi" (鬱林志): 3048.
[25]Jiajing edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (嘉靖《廣西通志》), juan 29, "Bingfang 3: Tuntian" ("Military Defense III: Military Colonies").
[26]Chongzhen edition of *Wuzhou Fuzhi* (崇禎《梧州府志》), juan 2, "Yudi zhi: Lishe" ("Treatise on Geography: Village Communities").
[27]Qianlong edition of *Yulin Zhouzhi* (乾隆《鬱林州志》), juan 2, "Shanchuan" ("Mountains and Rivers").

jurisdiction were Xi'an Fort (西岸堡), Luohanwu Fort, Bangshan Fort, Guyang Fort, Maolin Jia, Yunling Zhai, and other subordinate units, amounting in total to four Fort (堡, bao/bu), five jia, and three zhai. It was not until the 1894 edition of the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer,* compiled in the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign, that the name was recorded as 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form* rather than 東寧鄉, *Ming-era form*.[28]This constitutes the earliest known appearance of the form 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form* in extant documentary sources.

This confirms that the place name "Dongning Township" (Dongning Xiang 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*) appeared no earlier than after the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign (1792) and became formally established in the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign (1894), more than four hundred years later than the date claimed for the composition of the "*Mubiao*." The use of this late-emerging place name in the "*Mubiao*" constitutes a typical trace of later narrative constructors retrojecting the geographical terminology of their own era into an earlier historical text.

3.8.2.2 "Xi'an Fort" (西岸堡): Its Persistent Absence from Ming Documentary Records and Its Failure to Meet the Geostrategic Conditions of a Ming-Era Fort.

The investigation of "Xi'an Fort" (西岸堡) must address two independent questions simultaneously: first, when this place name first appeared; and second, whether its establishment and historical evolution conformed to Ming institutional norms. The conclusions derived from these two lines of examination corroborate one another and converge on the same negative finding.

(i) Documentary Absence: Successive Ming local gazetteers contain no record of it.

[28]Guangxu edition of *Yulin Zhouzhi* (光緒《鬱林州志》), juan 3, "Yudi xiangbao" ("Geography: Townships and Forts").

A textual survey of “Xi’an Fort” (Xi’an Bao 西岸堡) indicates that neither of the two Ming editions of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* contains any record of this name. In the early Ming period, forts (bao) were consistently classified under the “Treatise on Military Defense” (Bingfang zhi 兵防志) in the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* and other contemporary sources, rather than being treated as basic civil administrative units within the xiang–li system. The Jiajing edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* records that the various forts of Guangxi were distributed across “strategic locations in the Wanshan mountains, in Yao and Zhuang regions, and in bandit-prone areas,” and further notes that “the Yulin garrison Thousand-Household Office (Yulin Shouyu Qianhu suo 鬱林守御千户所) was established to the left of the prefectural seat in the third year of the Hongwu reign.”[29]

Records from Yulin Prefecture in the fourteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1535) mention only “Minjin Fort” and “Luyun Fort.” Minjin Fort belonged to Fukang Township, while Luyun Fort belonged to Fumin Township. It can therefore be inferred that no fort is recorded as having been established in Dongning Township (東寧鄉) at that time.[30]

It was not until the period from 1552 to 1579 that the documentary record first shows the only fort recorded within Dongning Township (Dongning Xiang 東寧鄉), namely Xialing Fort (Xialing Bao 峡岭堡).[31] The fort was assigned a quota of ten militia personnel, together with one additional militiaman from Beiliu County. However, Xialing Fort was located at Guimen Pass, the strategic pass marking the boundary between Yulin and Beiliu County, rather than at Shantiandu on Hanshan Ridge, which lies more than twenty kilometers away

[29]Jiajing edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (嘉靖《廣西通志》), juan 31, “Bingfang 5” (“Military Defense V”); juan 27, “Bingfang 1” (“Military Defense I”).
[30]Jiajing edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (嘉靖《廣西通志》), juan 31, “Bingfang 5: Shaoshou” (“Military Defense V: Patrol and Guard Duties”).
[31](Ming) Ying Jia and Liu Yaohui, *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi* (《蒼梧總督軍門志》), juan 10, “Bingfang 7: Yingbao” (“Military Defense VII: Camps and Forts”).

and is the location of the so-called “Xi’an Fort Baichanquan” (Xi’an Bao Baichanquan 西岸堡白浐泉).

Regarding the evolution of the military defense system of Yulin Prefecture before and during the early Ming period, the *Yongle Dadian Fangzhi Jiyi* (*Collected Lost Local Gazetteers from the Yongle Encyclopedia*) provides a detailed account:“Since the Tang dynasty, the prefecture had no established garrisons or fortified stockades. Consequently, the Yao communities of the xidong (溪峒) frequently raided and plundered the local population, causing continual harm. It was only during the Song dynasty that military camps and stockades (yingzhai 營寨) were established throughout the four townships of the prefecture in order to control the routes by which the Yao people entered and exited. Two Hundred-Household Offices (baihu suo 百戶所) were established at Xuzhou and Lengshuihe, where troops were stationed for defense. During the Zhizheng period of the Yuan dynasty, five Patrol Inspectorates (xunjian si 巡檢司) were established at Jinding, Dangzhou, Zhaojia, Zhouluo, and Shahe. Each stockade was staffed with one Patrol Inspector (xunjian) and thirty archer-soldiers (gongbing 弓兵) to guard strategic routes. After the region submitted to the Ming court, one official and thirty archer-soldiers continued to be stationed at each stockade for patrol and defense. In addition, two Hundred-Household officers (baihu 百戶) from the Guangxi Guard (Guangxi Wei 廣西衛) were transferred to the prefecture to command the garrison troops and maintain local security, upon which the local population depended for stability.” It should be clarified that Zhaojia Stockade was located in Xingye County under the jurisdiction of Yulin Prefecture, while Zhouluo Stockade and Shahe Stockade were situated in Bobai County. Consequently, within the four townships of Yulin Prefecture proper,

there were in fact only two stockades: Jinding Stockade in Fumin Township and Dangzhou Stockade in Fukang Township.[32]

In conclusion, the military defense system of Yulin Prefecture in the early Ming period consisted, apart from the Guard Thousand-Household Office located to the left of the prefectural seat, only of the two stockades inherited from the Yuan dynasty, namely Jinding Stockade and Dangzhou Stockade. There is no record whatsoever of any so-called “Xi’an Fort” (Xi’an bao 西岸堡). Moreover, in the early Ming military system of Guangxi, the term fort (bao 堡) referred strictly to a military fortification rather than to a civilian settlement or place name (see Section 3.8.2.3 for details).

The earliest known appearance of the name “Xi’an Fort” in extant documentary sources is found in the 1792 edition of the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* (*Yulin Zhouzhi* 鬱林州志), by which time it had already become a local administrative settlement designation, entirely different in institutional nature from the military camps and forts of the Ming dynasty.

We further examine the argument of “the survival of a fort name after abandonment.” It has been suggested that in historical cases, after the abandonment of a military fort, local residents may continue to use its former name. In this sense, the “Xi’an Fort” (Xi’an Bao 西岸堡) mentioned in the *Mubiao* may represent a toponym derived from a previously abandoned military fort, and by the time the *Mubiao* was composed, the fort may no longer have retained any military function, with its former name simply being used to designate the residential location. However, the argument of “survival of a fort name after abandonment” necessarily presupposes the prior and formal existence of the site as a military fort. As demonstrated in the documentary survey above, however, no record of the name “Xi’an Fort” appears in Song, Yuan, or Ming sources. Within Dongning Township (Dongning Xiang 東寧

[32](Ming) Xie Jin, comp.; Ma Rong et al., collators, *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (《永樂大典方志輯佚》), “Yulin zhi” (鬱林志): 3069–3070, 3363.

鄉), no fortification unit is documented from the early Ming period through the Jiajing reign. Even after the Jiajing period, the only fort recorded within Dongning Township (Xialing Fort) is not located at this site. A military fort that leaves no trace in the documentary record across the Song, Yuan, and Ming periods cannot have generated a toponymic remnant surviving after abandonment. Since the necessary premise of the "abandoned fort, surviving name" hypothesis is absent, its conclusion is therefore untenable.

(ii).Inconsistency with the Historical Development of Administrative Establishments: No "xiang-bao" administrative establishment existed below the county level in Guangxi during the late Yuan and early Ming periods.

Before discussing the Ming-dynasty fort (bao 堡) system, it is necessary first to exclude one possible explanation, namely that the so-called "Xi'an Fort" originated as a continuation of Yuan-dynasty grassroots administrative organization. From the perspective of institutional history, however, this explanation is likewise difficult to sustain. The household registration reforms of the early Ming generally inherited the preexisting registration structure of the Yuan dynasty. In the second year of the Hongwu reign (1369), an imperial decree stipulated that "registration shall be fixed according to the originally reported household registers, and arbitrary alterations shall not be permitted," [33]indicating that the Ming state adopted a strategy of integration and adjustment based upon existing local structures rather than reconstructing an entirely new regional administrative hierarchy. In the southern Yuan dynasty, the xiangli system below the county level used xiang and du as the basic units for tax and corvee collection and household registration management. Under this system, "lizheng were appointed at the xiang level, and zhushou at the du level"[34] to

[33]Wanli edition of *Da Ming huidian* (萬曆《大明會典》), juan 19, "Hubu 1" ("Ministry of Revenue I").
[34]*Yuan dianzhang* (《元典章》), juan 26, "Hubu", juan 12, "Fuyi: Huyi" ("Corvée Service: Household Corvée").

supervise tax collection and maintain order. In addition, at the village-community level (fifty households constituted one she), shezhang were appointed to encourage agriculture and sericulture. [35]In the fourteenth year of the Hongwu reign (1381), the court ordered: "One li shall consist of 110 households. Among them, ten households with the highest obligations in labor service and grain tax shall be selected as chiefs, while the remaining one hundred households shall form ten jia. If a li contains ten jia, it is called a "complete tu" (quantu); if it contains only four or five, or six or seven jia, it is called a "half tu" (bantu). Within cities they are called fang; near city walls they are called xiang; in the countryside they are called li. Each li shall compile one register, with a general tu placed at the beginning." In the twenty-fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1391), it was further approved that: "The format for compiling the Yellow Registers (Huangce) shall be as follows. The authorities shall first engrave and print the standard form for one household and distribute it to the fang chiefs, xiang chiefs, li chiefs, and jia heads. Each household shall fill in its population and property according to the prescribed format and submit it to the responsible jia head. The jia head shall compile the forms of his own household together with those of the ten households under his jurisdiction and submit them to the relevant fang, xiang, or li chief. The fang, xiang, and li chiefs shall then consolidate the registers and forward them to the county."[36]By the fourth year of the Chongzhen reign (1631), the four townships of Yulin Prefecture were recorded as follows: Fumin Township (comprising eight tu), Guiping Township (comprising seven tu), Dongning Township (comprising nine tu), and Fukang Township (comprising nine du). [37] The township system of Yulin thus exhibited a structural configuration in which xiang encompassed tu or du units. Furthermore, according to the Collected Lost Local Gazetteers

[35]*Yuan dianzhang* (《元典章》), juan 23, "Hubu", juan 9, "Nongsang: Lishe" ("Agriculture and Sericulture: Establishing Community Organizations").
[36]Zhengde edition of *Da Ming huidian* (正德《大明會典》), juan 21, "Hubu 6" ("Ministry of Revenue VI").
[37]Chongzhen edition of *Wuzhou Fuzhi* (崇禎《梧州府志》), juan 2, "Yudi zhi: Lishe" ("Treatise on Geography: Village Communities").

from the Yongle Encyclopedia (Yongle Dadian Fangzhi Jiyi), the schools of Yulin Prefecture were established according to the model that "twenty-eight township-village community schools (xiangcun shexue) were established, each staffed with one community instructor (she shi)."[38]

From an institutional perspective, the rural grassroots organization of Ming-dynasty Yulin Prefecture included several hierarchical or administrative units, such as xiang, li, du, tu, jia, cun, and she. However, according to the *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (*Collected Lost Local Gazetteers from the Yongle Encyclopedia*), which preserves materials on the prefectures and counties under Wuzhou Prefecture in the early Ming period, the records of the xiang–li system in Yulin, Cangwu, Rongxian, Beiliu, Bobai, and Xingye counties mainly exhibit a structure of "xiang (directional or named xiang)—li—cun (she)" or "xiang—cun (she)."For example, Cangwu County contains entries such as "Duoxian xiang Gongshi she" and "Anping xiang Wucun," while Rongxian records "Nanxiang Luomian li Fengcun."[39]Here, "Gongshi she" is retained as a transliterated proper noun as it appears in the source text, without further semantic reconstruction. Despite this, the fort (bao) did not enter the sequence of administrative or institutional units in the above-mentioned system or in the documentary record. It appears only in the *Mubiao*. Therefore, the available evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the "xiang-bao" structure constituted a formal grassroots administrative division or an officially recognized administrative hierarchy in early Ming Yulin Prefecture.

(III) Incompatible Site Conditions: The Location Does Not Meet the Geographical Requirements for Establishing a Ming-Dynasty Military Fort

[38](Ming) Xie Jin, comp.; Ma Rong et al., collators, *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (《永樂大典方志輯佚》), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004, vol. 5, "Yulin zhi" (鬱林志): 3068.
[39]*Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (《永樂大典方志輯佚》), vol. 5, "Cangwu zhi" (蒼梧志) and "Rongzhou zhi" (容州志): 2886, 3086, 3107.

The establishment of forts (bao 堡) in the Ming dynasty was required to conform to strategically important military geography, which constituted a basic institutional principle. The Jiajing edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* (juan 31, "Military Defense V") explicitly records that the military forces of Guangxi were "distributed among the nineteen wei and suo garrisons in Xunzhou, Wuzhou, Liuzhou, Qingyuan, and other regions, together with fifty-two forts in Yongfu and other counties, all located at strategic mountain passages in Yao and Zhuang areas and in places frequented by bandits. Even so, the forces were still insufficient for defense duties and therefore could not be redeployed lightly."[40]For example: "Qishan (Qishan Fortified Post) constituted a strategic location connecting Cangwu, Tengxian, and Cenxi... Liuyun (Liuyun Fort) was the strategic junction between Rong County and Beiliu, while Beike (Beike Fortified Post) formed the choke point of the Sixty-Three Mountains... troops were stationed and encamped at various strategic locations for garrison defense."[41]Moreover, juan 2, "Illustrated Treatise on Yulin Prefecture" (Yulin Zhou Tushuo), of the *Dian Yue Yao Zuan* compiled by Yang Fang during the Wanli period further explains the military situation and geographical configuration of Yulin Prefecture:"There were no Yao or Zhuang communities within the territory of Yulin. To the southeast it connected with Liuyun Camp in Rong County, the Sixty-Three Mountains in Cenxi, and Shicheng in eastern Guangdong. Although Yao people occasionally appeared in these regions, the strict defenses of the Liuyun Sentry prevented them from crossing over and invading. To the southwest toward Bobai, the roads were remote and desolate, with villages sparsely scattered, while Fumin Township lay in between and thus constituted a strategic choke point. Fukang Township in the northwest connected to the routes leading toward Dangzhou, Xunzhou,

[40]Jiajing edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (嘉靖《廣西通志》), juan 31, "Bingfang 5" ("Military Defense V").
[41](Ming) Wu Wenhua, *Yuexi shugao* (《粵西疏稿》, Draft Memorials on Guangxi Affairs), juan 2, "Fuchu difang shiyi shu" ("Memorial on Matters Concerning the Pacification and Administration of Local Affairs").

Longzhou, and Guizhou, forming a strategic military corridor. The Su Li and Mingjing Camps were sufficient to maintain control there."[42]

The "Baichanquan at Xi'an Fort" (西岸堡白瀍泉) mentioned in the *Mubiao* is located in the mountain fields situated in a hollow on Hanshan Ridge (寒山嶺), approximately ten kilometers north of Yulin City. Although the area is relatively secluded, it lies not far from Yulin. The site was neither a strategic military stronghold nor situated along a major transportation route, and therefore lacked the geographical conditions necessary for the establishment of a Ming-period military fortification. Applying the designation fort (堡) to such a remote locality does not accord with the locational requirements generally associated with forts in Guangxi.

According to the *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (*Collected Lost Local Gazetteers from the Yongle Encyclopedia*), there was a divine shrine on Hanshan (Cold Mountain). "When prayers for rain were offered there, they were efficacious. Emperor Lizong of the Song dynasty conferred upon it the title "Hanshan Linghui Wang" (Hanshan the Numinous and Beneficent King)." During the Zhizheng reign of the Yuan dynasty, Hu Zhen, then sub-prefect of the prefecture, personally visited the shrine to pray for rain and composed a poem: "The farmers, rejoicing, came to report to one another; with the five grains abundant, peace and harmony prevailed." After the establishment of the Ming dynasty, the government continued to "enfeoff it as the deity of Hanshan" and "offer sacrifices at prescribed intervals." [43]These materials reveal two key characteristics of the Hanshan region. First, from the Song dynasty through the early Ming period, the Hanshan shrine was continuously incorporated into the official sacrificial system. Prefectural officials personally proceeded to the shrine to

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[42](Ming) Yang Fang, *Dian Yue yao zuan* (《殿粵要纂》, Compilation of Essential Military Affairs in Guangxi), juan 2, "Yulin zhou tushuo" ("Illustrated Account of Yulin Prefecture").
[43](Ming) Xie Jin, comp.; Ma Rong et al., collators, *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (《永樂大典方志輯佚》), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004, vol. 5, "Yulin zhi" (鬱林志): 3059.

offer sacrifices “at prescribed intervals”, indicating that the area remained under continuous and stable jurisdiction of the prefectural administration. Second, expressions such as “the farmers rejoicing,” “the five grains abundant,” and “peace and harmony prevailed” reflect stable agricultural production, orderly village life, and smooth interaction between officials and local inhabitants, with no evidence of military preparedness or security tension. Thus, the Hanshan area was neither a “strategic point in the Yao and Zhuang regions” nor a “place frequented by bandits.” Its social and geographical conditions clearly did not meet the requirements for frontier defense, strategic control, or military alertness necessary for the establishment of a military fort during the Ming dynasty. This conclusion is further supported by the actual military situation in Yulin during the mid-to-late Ming period, when “there was no Yao and Zhuang disturbance.” Therefore, interpreting “Xi’an Fort” as a formally established military fortification in the early Ming lacks both institutional and local contextual support.

Taking the hypothesis one step further, if “Xi’an Fort” did in fact exist, then it must necessarily have been a strategic military location—a “key strategic point frequented by bandits” and a route through which bandits operated—and therefore by no means a suitable place for peaceful habitation. Why, then, would Zhong Yiwan have chosen such a dangerous strategic location in which to reclaim land for cultivation and spend the remainder of his life in seclusion? Viewed from this perspective, the narrative reveals a logical contradiction between a bandit-infested strategic stronghold and a supposedly secluded place of reclusive settlement.

3.8.2.3 Military Nature and Institutional Evolution of Guangxi "Bao" (Fort), and the Actual Scale of Yulin "Yingbao" (Military Forts): Incompatibility with Registered Household Settlement Toponyms

The preceding two sections have, from the perspectives of documentary absence, the historical evolution of grassroots administrative establishments, and locational conditions, ruled out the possibility that "Xi'an Fort" (Xi'an Bao 西岸堡) existed in the early Ming period in the form of a civilian settlement toponym. However, two types of potential counterarguments still require direct response. First, given that military camps and forts (yingbao) did exist in Ming-dynasty Guangxi, could it be argued that "Xi'an Fort" had already taken shape as a settlement name in the early Ming period? Second, since some Ming sources record that there were inhabitants within forts, could this be taken to suggest that forts had already evolved into civilian settlements? To address these issues, the following four aspects are to be examined in turn: the institutional definition of bao, the analysis of exceptional cases, the regional military situation and the actual scale of forts in Guangxi and Yulin, and the historical junctures of institutional transformation.

(I) The Institutional Definition of "Bao" (Fort) in Early Ming Guangxi: Bao Were for Garrisoning Troops, Not Settlements of Registered Households (Bianhu Qimin)

In Ming-dynasty Guangxi sources, "bao" (forts) were all classified under the "Treatise on Military Defense" (Bingfang zhi) as military installations specifically established for defense, and their institutional nature was military from the outset, with no connection to civilian settlements. Chen Lian's *Guilin Junzhi*, juan 7, "Baozhai" ("Forts and Stockades"), opens with a clear definition: "Forts and stockades are for avoiding bandits; forts are used for stationing garrison troops, while stockades are used for deploying archers. Each occupies the

routes from which bandits may emerge, so as to prevent harm to the people." [44]This definition clearly identifies "bao" as defensive installations for stationing garrison troops, rather than as toponymic units for the settlement of registered households (bianhu qimin).Notably, this passage simultaneously constitutes a form of "authorial self-negation": since the *Mubiao* was forged in Chen Lian's name, and Chen Lian himself, in his personally compiled *Guilin Junzhi*, had already defined "bao" as a purely military installation, the use of "Xi'an Fort" as a toponym for Zhong Yiwan's long-term residence stands in direct contradiction to the intellectual position of the purported author.

Local Guangxi sources provide multiple corroborations of the above institutional definition. *Draft Memorials on Guangxi Affairs* (*Yuexi Shugao*), juan 1, records: "They used existing forts as places for stationing troops, and cultivated fertile fields as resources for military provisions," [45]which shows that the function of the fort (bao) was to garrison soldiers. Similarly, Gazetteer of the Cangwu Military Command Headquarters (*Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*), juan 29, states: "They established camps and forts (yingbao), and garrisoned them with local militia soldiers (mubing)," [46]which is consistent with Chen Lian's statement that "forts are for stationing garrison troops." These passages come from different authors and different sources, and are mutually independent yet consistent in conclusion. The records of the Lipu campaign in the third year of the Longqing reign (1569) further distinguish between "six forts of government troops" (guanbing liu bao) and "thirty-six stockaded

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[44]Chen Lian (陳璉), *Guilin Junzhi* (《桂林郡志》, Guilin Commandery Gazetteer), juan 7, "Baozhai (Fortified Posts)", Jingtai first-year reprint edition (1450).
[45]Wu Wenhua (吳文華), *Yuexi shugao* (《粵西疏稿》, Draft Memorials on Guangxi Affairs), juan 1, "Memorial on Reporting Meritorious Officers in the Suppression of Bandits."
[46]Ying Jia (應檟) and Liu Yaohui (劉堯誨), *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi* (《蒼梧總督軍門志》, Gazetteer of the Cangwu Military Command Headquarters), juan 29, "Discussions on Pacifying the Tengxia Gorge Affairs."

villages of civilian residents" (minju sanshi liu zhai), [47]indicating that in mid- to late Ming Guangxi, forts (bao) remained military installations manned by government troops, while stockaded villages (zhai) had undergone a transformation toward mixed military-civilian settlements. Forts (bao) never developed an institutional linkage with civilian household registration. In sum, throughout the Ming dynasty, the fort (bao) in Guangxi remained within the military institutional domain. Forts contained no civilian settlements of registered households (bianhu qimin). This is the basic conclusion at the level of institutional definition.

(II) Critical Examination of Exceptional Cases of "Inhabitants within Bao (Fort)": None Constitute an Institutional Basis for the Transformation of "Bao" into Civilian Settlement Toponyms

Some may cite cases in which military personnel resided within forts, farming soldiers whose household registration was incorporated into military garrisons, or even isolated instances of habitation within forts, and argue that these indicate that "bao" had begun to show signs of transformation into civilian settlements. They then further attempt to use such cases as evidence for the existence of "Xi'an Fort" as a civilian settlement toponym. The following section examines two main types of such cases.

First, wei-suo garrison troops and gengbing (farming soldiers 耕兵): the settlement of military personnel differed in nature from registered civilian households (bianhu minju). In the early Ming period, military defense in Guangxi was primarily undertaken by wei-suo garrison troops. "Generally speaking, among wei-suo soldiers, three-tenths were assigned to guard cities, while seven-tenths were assigned to cultivation; there were also cases such as two-to-eight, one-to-nine, four-to-six, and half-and-half, all varying according to local

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[47]*Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi* (《蒼梧總督軍門志》, Gazetteer of the Cangwu Military Command Headquarters), juan 21, "Punishing the Guilty V."

conditions.” [48]These soldiers belonged to military households (junhu), and their residence within wei-suo establishments still fell within the military institutional domain. Later, because “the Yao and Zhuang of Guangxi were constantly active, farmers had to lay down their tools, and whenever military mobilization was required, langbing (native troops 狼兵) were relied upon; after the campaign was over, these langbing were again used for garrison duties,” the regular wei-suo forces were dispersed and unable to maintain long-term deployment in frontier areas. As a result, the gengbing system gradually emerged in Guangxi: the authorities, through local chieftains, granted land to langbing in exchange for defensive service. “The chieftains were granted land according to rank; those commanding one thousand or more troops received over ten thousand mu, while those commanding one hundred or more received over one thousand mu.” [49]These langbing, or locally recruited Yao and Zhuang people, were mobilized as garrison troops, simultaneously farming and defending, and were registered locally. The granting of land to gengbing was essentially a transactional arrangement for military service, fundamentally different from the logic of land allocation to civilian households. Wei-suo troops were supported through state-organized military reclamation: “all their land was military reclamation land used to support the army.” [50]Gengbing, by contrast, obtained land in exchange for armed garrison duty. Although different in origin and affiliation, both shared the same fundamental premise: their existence was based on military functions, and their places of residence remained within the military institutional domain. The authorities established forts at key passes and recruited gengbing to garrison them. Whether in the Toujiang Fort established during the Jiajing period, where

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[48]Jiajing edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (嘉靖《廣西通志》, General Gazetteer of Guangxi), juan 29, “Military Defense III: Military Colonies.”
[49]Wanli edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (萬曆《廣西通志》, General Gazetteer of Guangxi), juan 23, “Gengbing (Farming Soldiers).”
[50]Chongzhen edition of *Wuzhou Fuzhi* (崇禎《梧州府志》, Wuzhou Prefecture Gazetteer), juan 12, “Military Defense Treatise: Military Colonies.”

"two hundred langbing were assigned, together with regular troops, to defend it, and the lands left by the Ming family were allocated to the garrison troops," [51]or in the Zhaoping Fort established during the Hongzhi period, where "one thousand tubing (local troops) were stationed, and idle lands of Xianhui Cave in Pingle County were assigned for cultivation," [52]the settlers were essentially military personnel. The *Veritable Records of Emperor Wuzong of the Ming dynasty* explicitly states that such personnel were "recruited langbing, simultaneously farming and guarding, paying grain taxes according to civilian regulations, so as to be available for mobilization." [53]The phrase "paying grain taxes according to civilian regulations" was merely a fiscal arrangement; it did not alter the military nature of the institution. The residence of soldiers' families within military installations also belonged to the category of military settlement and was fundamentally distinct from ordinary registered civilian households. It cannot be taken as evidence that "forts had already transformed into civilian settlements."

Second, the Potou Fort Case: A Deviation from the Norm that Confirms the Institutional Rule Rather than Serving as Evidence of Regular Practice

The case of Potou Fort in Huaiyuan County during the Wanli period provides a reverse confirmation of the institutional principle that "forts are for stationing garrison troops." According to the *Yuexi shugao* (粵西疏稿, *Draft Memorials on Guangxi Affairs*), Battalion Commander Li Cai proposed pacifying the Yao population by having them "move their households and reside at Potou to guard it" as a means of indirect control. However, the fort "had originally not been garrisoned with troops," and because reinforcements failed to arrive in time, the Yao took advantage of the night to launch an attack, resulting in a disastrous

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[51]*Yuexi wenzai* (《粵西文載》, Collected Literary Works on Guangxi), juan 44, "Stele of Toujiang Fort in Yining County" (by Yin Gui, Ming).
[52]*Ming Shi* (《明史》, History of Ming), juan 317, "Biography 205: Pingle."
[53]*Da Ming Wuzong Shilu* (《大明武宗實錄》, Veritable Records of Emperor Wuzong), entry for bingwu day of the seventh month, 13th year of Zhengde (1518).

outcome.[54]The memorial explicitly identified the fact that "the fort had originally not been garrisoned with troops," together with the improper handling of the pacification policy, as the crucial background factors leading to the loss of control. This demonstrates that "forts should be garrisoned with troops" constituted the institutional norm, whereas the absence of troops and the misapplication of pacification measures represented deviations from that norm. Far from demonstrating that "forts could function as civilian settlements," this case instead confirms, through both the deviation itself and its consequences, the normative force of the institutional principle that "forts are for stationing garrison troops."

Taken together, the two categories of cases discussed above—whether the settlement of garrison troops and farming soldiers, or exceptional instances of habitation under anomalous conditions—do not alter the institutional nature of the bao (fort) as a military establishment in Ming Guangxi, nor do they provide an institutional basis for the transformation of the bao into a civilian settlement toponym. The *Mubiao* employs "Xi'an Fort" (Xi'an Bao 西岸堡) to designate the place where Zhong Yiwan "reclaimed land and opened fields and lived in seclusion for the rest of his life." In doing so, it invokes the function of the bao as a territorial-administrative toponym within a "zhou → xiang → bao (Fort)" three-level sequence. This is fundamentally different in nature from any of the exceptional cases discussed above and should not be conflated with them.

(III) Regional Variations in Guangxi and the Actual Military Situation in Yulin: From the Late Song to the Early Ming, the Authorized Troop Strength of Camps and Forts (Yingbao) Remained Extremely Small and Did Not Meet the Basic Conditions for the Formation of Civilian Settlements

Even setting aside the foregoing institutional analysis, the actual scale of camps and forts (yingbao) in Yulin Prefecture alone leads to the same negative conclusion through an

[54]*Yuexi shugao* (《粤西疏稿》, Draft Memorials on Guangxi Affairs), juan 1, "Local Bandit Conditions Memorial."

independent line of reasoning. Military conditions varied across Guangxi, and the scale of camps and forts was adapted to local circumstances, resulting in considerable regional differences. In strategically important areas frequented by the Yao and Zhuang, the scale of garrison deployment could be substantial. During the Jiajing period, Toujiang Fort in Yining County was assigned "two hundred langbing, together with regular troops, to defend it"; during the Zhengde period, Xunzhou Fort ordered the local native officials (tumu) Huang Gui and Wei Xiang to garrison it with three hundred men;[55]and during the Hongzhi period, Zhaoping Fort in Pingle was also proposed to "dispatch one thousand tubing (native troops) each year for mobilization."[56]These examples illustrate the actual scale of the fortification system in militarily sensitive areas of Guangxi and provide a useful point of comparison for assessing the situation in Yulin.

The military situation in Yulin Prefecture must be examined longitudinally from the late Song to the early Ming in order to provide an accurate institutional frame of reference for the temporal context of the *Mubiao*'s stated date, the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376). Yulin was described as "level and broad, without any natural geographical barriers; its waters winding and not deep." Since the Tang and Song periods, it had functioned as a major commercial center. "To the south it connects with Lei and Hua prefectures, extending to Qiongguan; to the west it adjoins Lian and Qin prefectures, reaching Hengshan. It serves as a protective wing for maritime routes and a buffer for Guilin... Because of its salt trade, it was a convergence point for boats and carts, where major merchants and wealthy traders gathered." [57]The *Wenxian tongkao* records that "from Yulin Prefecture one could travel by waterway to Guangzhou; return salt boats and ox-carts were available for transporting salt for hire,"

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[55]*Ming Shi* (《明史》, History of Ming), juan 317, "Biography 205: Xunzhou."
[56]*Ming Shi* (《明史》, History of Ming), juan 317, "Biography 205: Pingle."
[57]*Yuexi wenzai* (《粤西文載》, Collected Literary Works on Guangxi), juan 22, "Record of the Reconstruction of Yulin Inner City" (by Tan Jingxian, Song).

[58]indicating that Yulin was an important node in the circulation of salt in the Lingnan region. In the sixth year of the Chunxi reign (1179), although the roving rebellion led by Li Jie of Luchuan County briefly occupied Yulin Prefecture, the imperial court swiftly quelled the uprising. “Within less than a month,” the rebels “sold their swords and bought oxen, all returned to their fields, and the people thus lived in peace.” [59]This brief disturbance followed by rapid recovery contrasts sharply with the persistent military pressures posed by long-term Yao and Zhuang presence in northeastern, central, and western Guangxi, indicating that during the Song period Yulin did not experience sustained military pressure. From the Yuan through the early Ming, although occasional Yao bandit activity occurred, apart from the Yulin Guard Thousand-Household Garrison (Yulin Shouyu Qianhu suo), only two zhenzhai (fortified garrison posts), Jinding and Dangzhou, were established in Fumin and Fukang townships. Each was staffed with one official and thirty archers for patrol and defense, indicating a very limited military scale. This confirms that even during periods of instability, the military presence in Yulin remained relatively light. Dongning Township was located near Yulin Prefecture, and Hanshan Ridge was only about ten kilometers from the prefectural seat, within the jurisdiction of the Yulin Thousand-Household Garrison. There is no record of any bao (fort) having been established there. On the contrary, contemporary sources depict a social environment characterized by “bumper harvests and peace and prosperity.” This longitudinal trajectory from the Song to the early Ming demonstrates that, at the time of the *Mubiao*’s purported composition, Dongning Township in Yulin neither experienced sustained frontier military pressure nor possessed any historical institutional basis for the establishment of yingbao (camps and forts).

[58](Yuan) Ma Duanlin (馬端臨), *Wenxian tongkao* (《文獻通考》, Comprehensive Examination of Literature and Documents), juan 330, “Examination of Frontier Peoples VII.”
[59]Same as note 57: Tan Jingxian (譚景先), “Record of the Reconstruction of Yulin Inner City.”

Against this backdrop, the actual quota-assigned troop strength of military garrison installations (yingbao) within Yulin Prefecture was naturally limited. According to the *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi* ·Bingfang qi ·Yingbao (*Gazetteer of the Cangwu Governor-General's Military Office*, Military Defense VII: Military Garrison Installations), during the Jiajing to Wanli periods, the largest and most strategically important Xialing Fort (Xialing Bao) in Dongning Township—securing Guimen Pass, the key transport choke point on the route from the Central Plains to Qin, Lian, Lei, Qiong, and Jiaozhi—was assigned a quota of only eleven garrison personnel (junzhuang). In Fumin Township, Lanli Fort, Suli Fort, and Shatian Fort were each assigned only five. The Wanli-period *Dian Yue yao zuan* (*Compilation of Essential Military Affairs in Guangxi*) further states: "Within Yulin's borders there are no Yao or Zhuang... the two posts of Suli and Mingjing are sufficient to control the area." Military outposts manned by five to eleven garrison personnel could neither gather a civilian population nor even constitute a named settlement unit—they simply lacked the scale necessary to form a civilian settlement designation. This conclusion holds even for Xialing Fort, the largest fort in Yulin; as for the site of "Xi'an Fort," it lacked even the basic locational conditions for establishing a military post, let alone the institutional space for the formation of a settlement designation. The *Mubiao* invokes "Xi'an Fort" as a hierarchical toponym within the "zhou → xiang → bao" sequence, a function that finds no institutional grounding in either the administrative logic or the actual scale of military garrison installations in Ming-dynasty Yulin.

(IV) The Transformation of the "Bao" (Fort) into a Civil Administrative Hierarchical Unit: Only Completed after the Yongzheng and Qianlong Reigns of the Qing dynasty

After the establishment of the Yuan dynasty, the Song-period baojia system was not continued. The basic unit of rural organization in the Yuan period was the she (community). The *Yuan dian zhang* records that in the twenty-third year of the Zhiyuan reign (1286), "fifty

households were constituted as one she.” The function of maintaining local order and preventing banditry was also undertaken by the she system. According to the *Tongzhi tiaoge*, juan 16, “Tianling” (“Land Ordinances”), in the seventh year of the Dade reign (1303), the Shandong Circuit Surveillance Commission (Lianfang si) proposed that “each she head (shezhang) should establish baojia,” but the Ministry of Justice rejected the proposal on the grounds that “since she heads had already been established everywhere, the establishment of baojia might cause disruption.” She heads were instead required to encourage agriculture and sericulture and to monitor idlers and vagrants. In the first year of the Zhida reign (1308), the Ministry of Justice of the Central Secretariat approved and promulgated regulations formally assigning she heads responsibility for maintaining local order. Those who “did not engage in their proper occupations, came and went at irregular hours... or associated with idlers and vagrants” were to be “regularly instructed to remain in their proper occupations, and closely watched if idle or disorderly.” The Surveillance Commissions (Lianfang si) were responsible for supervising the performance of these duties.[60]This indicates that the Yuan dynasty did not possess a Song-style baojia system, and that the Ming baojia system was not a continuation of Song or Yuan institutions, but was instead newly created in the mid-Ming by local officials in response to social unrest.

The argument that the “bao” (fort) in Ming-dynasty Guangxi constituted a purely military establishment has its own independent regional institutional basis; it does not depend on comparative evidence from other regions, nor is it affected by the developmental trajectories of other provinces. The transformation of the “bao” toward civil administrative institutions exhibited significant regional and temporal variation, and the evolutionary paths of different periods and regions cannot be simply extrapolated from one another. In the early

[60]Fang Linggui (方齡貴), *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu* (《通制條格校注》, Annotated Regulations and Precedents), juan 16, “Land Ordinances”, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2001: 455.

Ming, grassroots administration followed the lijia system, and no baojia system yet existed. In the third year of the Hongwu reign (1370), the initial registration and organization of lijia households was established; in the fourteenth year (1381), the Yellow Register (huangce) and the lijia system were formally implemented—neither included any administrative level of "bao" or "baojia." The earliest recorded evidence of the baojia system appears in the twelfth year of the Chenghua reign (1476), after which its implementation varied considerably across regions in both timing and institutional regulations. In the mid- to late Ming, certain areas of Guangdong formed a localized civil-military joint defense mechanism of "ten households forming a jia, and one hundred households forming a bao (堡)."[61]This represents a regional variant in which military defense consciousness, under conditions of specific social instability, was incorporated into the baojia structure of "ten households forming a jia, and one hundred households forming a bao (保)."[62]It cannot be regarded as a general institutional norm of the Ming dynasty. In Gannan, Jiangxi province—another southern region—the institutional nature of the "bao" in the early Ming was likewise clearly distinct from civilian settlements: "At the time the forts were first established, priority was given to distant surveillance, and civilian habitation was not taken into consideration. Although the area had more than one thousand households, all were placed outside the fort. Inside the fort there were no civilian residents at all, only fifty weak garrison soldiers."[63] The principle that "the 'bao' was not a civilian settlement" was therefore not a special regulation unique to Guangxi, but a general institutional baseline of the early Ming. Accordingly, it is not valid to extrapolate from the developmental trajectory of certain regions in Guangdong during the mid- to late Ming to the

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[61] *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi* (《蒼梧總督軍門志》, Gazetteer of the Cangwu Military Command Headquarters), juan 29, "Jiyi" ("Collected Deliberations").

[62] (Ming) Zheng Ruozeng (鄭若曾), *Jiangnan jinglue* (《江南經略》, Strategic Survey of Jiangnan), juan 7, "Establishing the Baojia System."

[63] Jiajing edition of *Qiantai xuzhi* (嘉靖《虔臺續志》, Continued Gazetteer of Qiantai), juan 4, "Jishi san" ("Records of Events III").

situation of early Ming Yulin; such an extrapolation lacks documentary support and fails to account for the temporal and regional differentiation inherent in the institutional history of the Ming baojia system.

The institutional transformation of the "fort" (bao) in Guangxi from a military establishment into a civil administrative unit was a product of Qing institutional reform. The Qing dynasty implemented the baojia system, and especially after the major reorganization of the baojia system in the fourth year of the Yongzheng reign (1726) and the termination of lijia registration reviews in the twenty-second year of the Qianlong reign (1757), grassroots units designated as bao gradually became standardized throughout Guangxi as civil administrative units entirely detached from direct military affiliation. The 1996 edition of the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*: Civil Administration records that after the Qianlong period:"the baojia system in Guangxi had become firmly established, with the three-tier structure of xiang, bao, and jia forming its basic organizational framework." At the bao level there existed:"bao, li, du, tu, xiang, fang, jia, zhai, and other such units."[64]The Qianlong fifty-seventh year (1792) edition of the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* was compiled precisely within this institutional framework and systematically recorded the twenty-nine bao, seven jia, and four zhai subordinate to the five xiang of Yulin Prefecture. By this point, the bao had become entirely a form of local civil administrative organization, and "Xi'an Fort" likewise made its first documented appearance within this framework—more than four centuries after the date claimed by the *Mubiao* (the ninth year of the Hongwu reign, 1376).

Summary: Residential Toponyms as Independent Evidence of Later Construction

Synthesizing the analyses in Sections 3.8.2.1–3.8.2.3, three mutually independent and separately established lines of negation can be identified:

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[64]Guangxi Local Gazetteer Compilation Committee, *Guangxi Tongzhi: Minzheng zhi* (《廣西通志・民政志》, General Gazetteer of Guangxi: Civil Administration Gazetteer), Guangxi: Guangxi People's Publishing House, 1996, Part I, "Jiceng zhengquan" (基層政權, "Grassroots Government"): 9.

First, the place name “Dongning Township”(東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*) was standardized only in the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign (1894). Throughout the Ming dynasty, it consistently appears as “Dongning Township”(東寧鄉). The toponym used in the *Mubiao* therefore directly contradicts all extant Ming official records, with a chronological gap of more than four hundred years.

Second, the name “Xi’an Fort” (Xi’an Bao) does not appear in any Ming-dynasty military or administrative gazetteer records, and the documentary record is consistently silent on this designation. The location was remote, neither a strategic military point nor a major transportation route, and therefore did not meet the geographical conditions required for establishing a Ming military fort. Moreover, the military situation in Yulin Prefecture was relatively light; prior to the Jiajing period, there is no record of any “bao” having been established in Dongning Township (東寧鄉), leaving no basis for the hypothesis of an “abandoned fort with surviving name.” Even during the Jiajing to Wanli periods, the largest fort in the region, Xialing Fort, had an authorized troop strength of only slightly more than ten men, which was insufficient to form a civilian settlement. From the three perspectives of documentary absence, locational conditions, and institutional scale, the possibility that “Xi’an Fort” functioned as a civilian residential site in the Ming dynasty is excluded.

Third, according to the institutional reality of Ming Guangxi, “forts were for stationing garrison soldiers” and “camps and forts were established and garrisoned with militia troops (mubing).” The “bao” was consistently a military establishment and was not used as a toponym for registered civilian settlements. Even when exceptional cases such as farming-soldier settlement (gengbing) or the placement of military households are considered, the residents remained military personnel and were fundamentally distinct from registered civilian households. The transformation of the “bao” into a civil administrative unit was only finalized after the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns of the Qing dynasty. The term “Xi’an Fort”

first appears in the Qianlong fifty-seventh year (1792) *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*, more than three centuries after the date claimed by the *Mubiao*. From the three perspectives of documentary evidence, institutional nature, and historical evolution, the possibility that "Xi'an Fort" functioned as a civilian residential toponym in the Ming dynasty is excluded.

These three lines of evidence—toponymic evolution, locational conditions and actual scale, and institutional transformation—are mutually independent and converge on the same conclusion: the toponymic combination "Dongning Township, Xi'an Fort" (東凝鄉西岸堡, *Guangxu-era form*) employed in the *Mubiao* represents a typical case in which later compilers retrospectively projected geographical information that first appeared in Qing-dynasty gazetteers onto a forged historical text produced under Chen Lian's name. Together, they constitute independent evidence, at the residential toponym level, that the *Mubiao* is a text constructed in a later period. This conclusion complements the negative findings of Sections 3.1–3.7 based on documentary absence: the former demonstrates that Zhong Yiwan is unattested in historical records, while the latter shows that the *Mubiao* itself cannot originate from the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376) as claimed. The two lines of evidence are logically independent and jointly reinforce the argumentative structure of Chapter 3, "Historical Refutation."

In addition, the *Mubiao* also contains an anachronistic use of a reign title:

The *Mubiao* states that Zhong Yiwan "subsequently died in the Yuanyou era." "Yuanyou" was the reign title of Emperor Zhezong of the Song dynasty (1086–1094), nearly two centuries earlier than the Yuan dynasty period in which Zhong Yiwan supposedly lived. When read together with the cemetery records stating that Zhong Yiwan died in the "jiayin year of the Yanyou reign of Emperor Renzong of the Yuan dynasty" (1314), "Yuanyou" clearly represents a mistaken substitution for "Yanyou." The problem, however, lies in the following: if the *Mubiao* had indeed been written by Chen Lian in 1376, only eight years

after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, the reign title "Yanyou" would still have remained within living historical memory. Why, then, would it have been miswritten as a Song dynasty reign title separated by nearly three centuries? This error is more consistent with the characteristics of later compilers unfamiliar with Yuan dynasty reign titles, and thus constitutes an additional piece of internal textual evidence that the *Mubiao* is a later pseudepigraphic text.

It is particularly important to note that the evidence presented in this section differs in nature from the arguments from documentary silence employed in Sections 3.1–3.7. It does not depend upon the "presence" or "absence" of documentary records, but instead derives anachronistic information directly from within the text of the *Mubiao* itself. As such, it constitutes an internally derived form of textual refutation, whose probative force is not affected by the loss or survival of documentary materials. Within the analytical framework established in Section 7.2, the evidence discussed here will serve as supplementary evidence for the residential dimension of R2 ("self-refutation by the purported author"), and together with Chen Lian's age paradox and the systematic silence across his three extant works, will constitute a multi-layered refutation of the authenticity of the *Mubiao*. At the same time, it provides independent evidentiary support for the analysis presented in Section 3.9, "Analysis of the Argumentative Strength of Systematic Absence across Multiple Documentary Traditions."

3.9 Analysis of the Argumentative Force of Systematic Absence across Multiple Documentary Traditions

Before proceeding with the empirical comparison, it is necessary first to clarify the conditions under which "documentary silence" possesses methodological significance as counter-evidence, so as to avoid mistaking ordinary loss of historical materials for negative evidence.

(I) Definition of Independent Documentary Systems

The term “independent documentary system” as used in this study does not merely refer to documents bearing different titles. Rather, it refers to categories of sources that are independent from one another in terms of their mechanisms of production, sources of information, and structures of editorial authority. The determination of such independence is based primarily on the following three criteria:

- Differences in producing institutions. For example, the national historiographical system, the locally compiled official gazetteer system, the commemorative inscription and commendation system, the private collected-works system, and the imperial examination archive system were produced by different institutional bodies and do not stand in direct relationships of transcription or dependence.
- Differences in information-collection pathways: official histories were compiled primarily from dynastic historical archives and veritable records; local gazetteers relied on local administrative archives and documentary records; stone inscriptions drew upon contemporary commemorative memory and archival materials; examination records originated from archival registers maintained by the Ministry of Rites (Libu, 禮部) and the Ministry of Personnel (Libu, 吏部). Each source tradition therefore possessed a distinct mechanism through which information entered historical records.
- Differences in editorial functions and purposes. Official histories primarily served the preservation of state memory; gazetteers served local administration and governance; and genealogies emphasized lineage identity. Their motivations for recording information and their mechanisms of selection therefore differed structurally.

When these conditions are satisfied, each documentary system may be regarded as possessing relative methodological independence. When multiple structurally independent systems remain consistently silent regarding the same high-ranking historical figure, such documentary absence acquires analytical significance.

(II) Criteria for Transforming Documentary Silence into Counter-Evidence

The absence of a record in a single historical source does not automatically constitute negative evidence. In this study, documentary silence is regarded as counter-evidence only when all three of the following conditions are simultaneously satisfied:

- Principle of Expected Recordability: If an individual's official position belonged to the category of lu-level supervisory officials and the individual was associated with major military events, Song and Yuan documentary conventions suggest that there should have been a relatively high probability of such a figure being recorded.
- Principle of Peer-Comparison Anomaly: A suspicious anomaly arises when contemporaneous figures from the same region, holding the same rank or even lower status, are systematically recorded, while the individual in question alone remains absent from the record.
- Principle of Sustained Silence across Multiple Sources: If no record can be found across multiple independent categories of sources, including official histories, gazetteers, inscriptions, collected works, and imperial examination archives, the possibility that the omission resulted merely from accidental loss of individual materials can largely be excluded.

Only when all three conditions are simultaneously satisfied can documentary silence be transformed from an ordinary absence of record into a form of "structural exclusion" possessing methodological significance.

(III) Control of the Risk of False Negatives

To avoid excessive negation caused by incomplete preservation of historical materials, this study establishes the following safeguards during the process of refutation:

- No conclusion is based on the absence of evidence from a single source; all judgments are established through the cross-verification of multi-dimensional evidence.

- Contemporaneous figures of comparable status are introduced as reference cases in order to determine whether the density of surviving records is anomalous.
- While acknowledging the theoretical possibility of documentary loss, this study argues that, in the context of a lu-level supervisory official associated with major anti-Yuan military activities, complete documentary silence constitutes a significant anomaly when compared with figures of comparable status.

Through these methodological constraints, this study constructs a multilayered evidentiary structure through cross-verification among different categories of sources. Its conclusions are therefore not based on isolated absences of evidence, but rather on an evidentiary framework grounded in institutional recordability and consistency across multiple independent sources.

(IV) Connection with the Case Study

According to the criteria established above, the case of Zhong Yiwan simultaneously satisfies the three conditions of expected recordability, peer-comparison anomaly, and sustained silence across multiple independent sources. The documentary absence concerning this case therefore warrants further analysis. The following sections proceed on this basis and undertake a systematic examination of the case.

3.9.1 A Methodological Shift from "Isolated Doubt about Zhong Lineage Records" to "Multi-Source Corroboration"

Based on the criteria for identifying independent documentary systems and the three conditions for transforming documentary silence into counter-evidence established above, this section further examines the anomalous nature of Zhong Yiwan's complete absence from the documentary record through empirical comparison with contemporaneous figures.

Methodological Note: This study adopts an empirically based assessment of anomaly rather than a formal probabilistic calculation. The degree of anomaly represented by Zhong Yiwan's complete absence from the documentary record is evaluated through comparison with contemporaneous figures of comparable status from the same region. The validity of this approach rests upon three conditions: (1) the relative completeness of the documentary corpus; (2) the comparability of recording patterns among similar historical figures; and (3) the mutual independence or limited interdependence of multiple documentary sources.

This study establishes thirteen documentary systems (see Table 1). These systems display significant heterogeneity in terms of their sources of information, compiling institutions, and motivations for recording (see Table 2).

Table 1. Detailed Table of Thirteen Independent Document Systems

Serial Number	Documentation System	Specific Documents	Compilation Period	Compilation Body	Zhong Yiwan's Records	Nature	Refutation Significance
1	National History	Biography of Deng Deyu, Volume 451, *History of Song*	The third year of the Yuan dynasty's Zhizheng era	Tuotuo and other official cultivators	none	Deductive Evidence	Deng Deyu is included in the "Biographies of Loyal and Righteous Men," as recorded by Zhong Yiwan; this is confirmed as exclusive at the official historical level, and it independently corroborates the "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*" mentioned below.
2	Official Inscriptions	The *Stele of Loyalty and Merit*, dated to the third year of the Hongwu reign (written by Prefect Zhao Tianjian, inscribed by Assistant Prefect Huang Bin, and engraved by Yang Daotai and Jin Ming).	In the third year of the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty (1370)	Zhao Tianjian (Prefect)	none	Deductive Evidence	Ninety-one years after the fall of the Song dynasty, the official commendation process was rigorous; it detailed Deng Deyu,Chen Ying and the imperial examination candidates (juzi) without official positions, explicitly naming Deng as the Judicial Intendant, demonstrating a strong degree of exclusivity.
3	Provincial	*Guangxi Tongzhi* (General	The fourth year of the	Xie Qikun; Jin Hong;	none	Deductive	The list of Judicial Intendants ends with

Serial Number	Docume ntation System	Specific Documents	Compilati on Period	Compilati on Body	Zhong Yiwan's Records	Natur e	Refutation Significance
	Gazetteer (Guangxi)	Gazetteer of Guangxi) (Tongzhi, Yongzheng, Wanli, and Jiajing editions)	Tongzhi reign; the eleventh year of the Yongzhen g reign	Dai Yao; Lin Fu;		Eviden ce	Deng Deyu, with no successor recorded; cross-verification across four versions shows that Zhong Yiwan is not included.
4	Guangdo ng Provincia l Gazetteer	*Guangdong Tongzhi* (General Gazetteer of Guangdong), Yongzheng Edition; Tongzhi Edition	The ninth year of the Yongzhen g reign; the third year of the Tongzhi reign.	Hao Yulin; Ruan Yuan	none	strong eviden ce (qiang zheng 強證)	The records include figures from Dongguan such as Xiong Fei and Zeng Fenglong, but Zhong Yiwan is conspicuously absent, a stark contrast.
5	Prefectur e Gazetteer (Guilin)	Official Posts in the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* (Kangxi edition)	During the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing dynasty	Cheng Keze	none	strong eviden ce (qiang zheng 強證)	The list of Judicial Intendants in the local gazetteer contains 140 names, but Zhong Yiwan is not among them.
6	Prefectur e Gazetteer (Changsh a)	*Changsha Prefecture Gazetteer* (Jiajing Edition)	The twelfth year of the Jiajing reign of the Ming dynasty	Pan Yi	none	Suppor ting Eviden ce	Claiming to be rescuing Changsha, but no relevant records exist.
7	Zhou Gazetteer (Quanzho u)	The *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (Kangxi and Jiaqing editions)	The 29th year of the Kangxi Emperor's reign; the 4th year of the Jiaqing Emperor's reign	Huang Zhizhang; Wen Zhicheng	none	strong eviden ce (qiang zheng 強證)	The two editions of the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (*Quanzhou Zhi*) contain no record of the so-called "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄), "Tixingshi" (提刑使), or any related official titles.
8	Zhou Gazetteer (Yulin)	The *Gazetteer of Yulin* Prefecture, Qianlong edition; Guangxu edition	The fifty-seventh year of Qianlong' s reign; the twentieth year of Guangxu' s reign	Qiu Guishan; Feng Decai	none	strong eviden ce (qiang zheng 強證)	it was not added to the sacrificial list of the Loyalty and Merit Shrine during the Daoguang era; the place names in the text are anachronistic (chronologically misplaced).
9	Prefectur e Gazetteer (Guangzh ou)	*Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, Guangxu Edition, Volume 77	The fifth year of the Guangxu reign of the Qing dynasty	Dai Zhaochen	none	Strong corrob orating eviden ce	The records of the Song–Yuan war in Guangzhou are very detailed, but there is no record of Zhong Yiwan rushing to the aid of Xiong Fei in Guangzhou.

Serial Number	Documentation System	Specific Documents	Compilation Period	Compilation Body	Zhong Yiwan's Records	Nature	Refutation Significance
10	Prefecture Gazetteer (Wuzhou)	*Wuzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* (Chongzhen and Tongzhi editions)	Chongzhen 4 ; Tongzhi 12	Xie Junhui; Wu Jiuling	none	Supporting Evidence	No record of the region
11	County Gazetteer (Dongguan)	The *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (Chongzhen, Jiaqing, and Republican era editions)	From the Chongzhen Emperor of the Ming dynasty to the Republic of China	Zhang Erguo; Peng Renjie; Chen Botao	none	Deductive Evidence	The gazetteer records his fellow townsman Xiong Fei in detail but makes no mention of Zhong Yiwan; this omission—carried forward in the successive revisions based on Chen Lian's original edition—constitutes a refutation of his claimed ancestral home.
12	County Gazetteer (Cangwu)	The Tongzhi edition of the *Cangwu County Gazetteer*	The thirteenth year of the Tongzhi reign of the Qing dynasty	Kuai Guanghuan	none	Supporting Evidence	No record of activity location during the journey
13	Chen Lian's Works	*Qinxuan Ji* (first edition, 6th year of the Zhengtong reign, during Chen Lian's lifetime); *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, Volumes 4 and 5; First edition of *Dongguan County Gazetteer*.	Ming Zhengtong-Jingtai	Chen Lian (the person impersonated as the author of the *Mubiao*)	none	Deductive Evidence	Chen Lian's three works contain no relevant records; the six-fold proof systematically excludes accidental omissions, establishing a logical closed loop.

Note: The merging of the documentary materials listed above represents a conservative methodological choice intended to avoid overestimating the degree of independence among sources. Even under the strictest criteria for consolidation, however, the various systems still exhibit significant structural differences in their processes of textual production, compiling institutions, and channels of information acquisition. Accordingly, the evidentiary force of the pattern of systematic documentary absence is not substantially affected.

First, the thirteenth category, the "Individual Works Corpus," consists of three works authored by Chen Lian. Since all three texts were written by the same author and exhibit partial overlap in their informational sources, they are conservatively treated as a single documentary system. It should also be noted that the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* is itself a local gazetteer, and therefore maintains a certain relationship of textual transmission with the *Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer* discussed in the same section.

Second, multiple editions of local gazetteers with clear editorial succession relationships exhibit a form of "weak dependence" in their informational sources. Later editions frequently follow the organizational structure of earlier gazetteers and reproduce materials from them, making them less independent than documents belonging to different textual categories. Accordingly, the following groups of multi-edition gazetteers are treated conservatively in the statistical analysis, with each group counted as a single documentary system, while the individual descriptive significance of each edition is retained at the narrative level:

- The three editions of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (compiled in the twelfth year of the Chongzhen reign, the third year of the Jiaqing reign, and the tenth year of the Republic of China) are treated collectively as the "*Dongguan County Gazetteer* Documentary System";
- The two editions of the *Quanzhou Gazetteer* (compiled in the twenty-ninth year of the Kangxi reign and the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign) are treated collectively as the "*Quanzhou Gazetteer* Documentary System";
- The two editions of the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* (鬱林州志) (compiled in the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign and the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign) are treated collectively as the "*Yulin Zhou Gazetteer* Documentary System";

- The two editions of the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong* (compiled in the ninth year of the Yongzheng reign and the third year of the Tongzhi reign) are treated collectively as the "*General Gazetteer of Guangdong* Documentary System."

Table 2. Heterogeneity of Various Independent Document Systems

Document Type	**Independence of Information Sources**	**Independence of the Compilation Body**
Official national history (*History of Song dynasty*)	High (based on imperial archives)	High (Yuan dynasty's official historiographical institute)
Official inscription ("*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*")	High (local memories + government archives)	High (a local official in the early Ming dynasty)
Personal works (three books by Chen Lian)	Highest (Author's records + local data)	Highest (personal creation)
Provincial gazetteers → Prefectural gazetteers → County gazetteers	Medium (with hierarchical inheritance)	Medium level (there is a vertical hierarchical reference relationship between provincial, prefectural, and county gazetteers (lower-level gazetteers often cite higher-level gazetteers), and a horizontal inheritance relationship between continued gazetteers of the same place. This study has controlled the latter (continued gazetteer dependence) through the merging process in Table 1; the former (hierarchical reference) is a common practice in traditional Chinese gazetteer compilation and does not affect the methodological status of gazetteers at all levels as independent administrative document systems, because their compilation subjects, administrative affiliations, and information collection authority are all independent of each other.)

Key Conclusions:

1. The dual absence of Zhong Yiwan from both the *History of Song* and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* indicates his exclusion from both national and local historical memory;

2. The consistent absence of Zhong Yiwan from Chen Lian's *Qinxuan Ji*, *Guilin Junzhi*, and *Dongguan County Gazetteer* constitutes a form of self-negation by the individual to whom the *Mubiao* was falsely attributed;

3. The convergent documentary absence across local gazetteers associated with Zhong Yiwan's ancestral home (Guangdong), alleged regions of military activity (Hunan and Guangdong), official postings (Hunan and Guangxi), and place of residence (Guangxi) demonstrates the comprehensive geographical coverage of the investigation.

3.9.2 Comparative Examination of Contemporaneous Figures from the Same Region

To assess the degree of abnormality represented by Zhong Yiwan's complete absence from the documentary record, this study systematically examined the documentary attestation of contemporaneous figures from the same region and of comparable or lower status across the thirteen documentary systems.

Table 3. Records of People from the Same Period and Location in the Thirteen-Tier Document System

Figure	Job Level	Activity Area	Song Shi	Stele	Guangxi Gaz.	Guangdong Gaz.	Prefect. Gaz.	County Gaz.	Coll. Works	No. of Records	Appearance Rate
Deng Deyu	Guangxi Judicial Intendant (tixing 提刑)	Guangxi	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓ (3 places)	✓ (1 location)	✗	7/13	54 %
Ma Ji	Guangxi Pacification Commissioner (jinglüe shi, a lu-level official)	Guangxi	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓ (1 location)	✓ (1 location)	✗	4/13	31 %

Figure	**Job Level**	**Activity Area**	**Song Shi**	**Stele**	**Guangxi Gaz.**	**Guangdong Gaz.**	**Prefect. Gaz.**	**County Gaz.**	**Coll. Works**	**No. of Records**	**Appearance Rate**
Chen Ying	Nanliu Magistrate (Nanliu Yin 南流尹) → Tengzhou Prefect (Tengzhou Zhizhou 藤州知州) (prefectural/county-level official)	Guangxi	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓ (2 places)	✗	✗	4/13	31 %
Xiong Fei	Righteous volunteers (folk heroes, without official positions)	Guangdong	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓ (1 location)	✓	✓	5/13	38 %
Zeng Fenglong	Xinhui Ling (county-level official)	Guangdong	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓ (1 location)	✓	✓	5/13	38 %
Quan Qi'ao	imperial examination candidates (without official positions)	Guangxi	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓ (1 location)	✗	✗	3/13	23%
Liang Miyuan	imperial examination candidates (without official positions)	Guangxi	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓ (1 location)	✗	✗	3/13	23%
Zhong Yiwan	**Claimed to be a lu-**	**Hunan, Guan**	✗	✗	✗	✗	**✗ (0 locatio**	✗	✗	**0/13**	**0%**

Figure	Job Level	Activity Area	Song Shi	Stele	Guangxi Gaz.	Guangdong Gaz.	Prefect. Gaz.	County Gaz.	Coll. Works	No. of Records	Appearance Rate
	level Judicial Intendant	gxi and Guangdong					ns)				

Notes:

1. Number of records: the number of documentary systems, out of the thirteen systems examined, in which the individual appears;

2. Documentary appearance frequency: number of records divided by 13 (descriptive statistics rather than probabilistic inference), used to illustrate comparatively the degree of documentary preservation for different individuals;

3. Methodological limitation: the present analysis employs descriptive statistics based on empirical comparison rather than formal statistical inference. Its purpose is to illustrate empirical patterns in the distribution of documentary records relating to comparable historical figures, rather than to construct probabilistic models. Owing to the loss of historical materials, compilation biases, regional disparities, and other complex factors, precise probabilistic modeling is difficult to establish. Nevertheless, horizontal comparison remains sufficient to demonstrate the abnormality of Zhong Yiwan’s complete absence from the documentary record.

4. Structural explanation of differences in coverage ratios: within the thirteen documentary systems, the coverage ratios for the commoner Xiong Fei and the Pacification Commissioner Ma Ji are 5/13 (38%) and 4/13 (31%), respectively. This difference does not result from imbalance in research sampling, but rather from differences in the degree of structural overlap between their respective narratives and that of Zhong Yiwan.

From the perspective of spatial and event-based intersection, Ma Ji’s connection with Zhong Yiwan is concentrated primarily within the Jingjiang Prefecture region, and their

overlap is both regionally limited and event-specific. Consequently, the documentary materials relevant to Ma Ji are largely confined to official historical records and local gazetteers associated with Jingjiang Prefecture, including the *History of Song*, the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, and the "Biography of Ariq Qaya" cited in Volume 17 ("Supplementary Biographies and Historical Accounts") of the *Cangwu County Gazetteer*. The documentary network surrounding Ma Ji is therefore relatively concentrated, resulting in a comparatively limited coverage ratio.

By contrast, Xiong Fei exhibits multiple layers of structural overlap with the Zhong Yiwan narrative: first, a shared native-place connection; second, parallel participation in the Guangzhou anti-Yuan narrative; and third, an association with the *Qinxuan Ji* textual background upon which the *Mubiao* narrative depends. Since Xiong Fei is an attested historical figure recorded in official dynastic histories, Guangdong local gazetteers, and related literary collections, and since his narrative intersects with that of Zhong Yiwan at multiple structural levels, he demonstrates a relatively high coverage ratio across multiple documentary systems.

It should be emphasized that the comparative verification framework adopted in this study does not seek absolute balance in the quantity of documentary materials. Rather, the scope of documentary examination is determined according to the degree of narrative overlap and the density of institutional association. Differences in coverage ratios therefore reflect the extent to which particular figures are structurally embedded within the extant documentary system, rather than the subjective choices of the researcher. Precisely for this reason, Xiong Fei and Ma Ji function respectively as a "high-overlap reference case" and a "regional reference case," and this distinction itself constitutes an important structural point of reference for assessing the authenticity of the Zhong Yiwan narrative.

(a) Empirical comparison reveals the following:

1. The General Relationship between Social Status and Documentary Preservation

- Lu-level officials: Deng Deyu 7/13 (54%), Ma Ji 4/13 (31%);
- Prefectural- and county-level officials: Chen Ying 4/13 (31%), Zeng Fenglong 5/13 (38%);
- Loyalist figures / examination candidates: Xiong Fei 5/13 (38%), Quan Qi'ao 3/13 (23%), Liang Miyuan 3/13 (23%).

(II) Anomaly Analysis of the Zhong Yiwan Case

- Comparison benchmark: Even lower-status examination candidates such as Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, merely because they "assisted Magistrate Chen in attempting to recapture the city, failed, and died in the process," are recorded in 3 of the 13 documentary systems;
- Status paradox: The lu-level judicial intendant position claimed for Zhong Yiwan was institutionally far above the status of examination candidates. Under normal historical circumstances, the degree of documentary preservation associated with such a position should have been significantly higher than that of Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan.

Actual result: zero records across all 13 documentary systems, forming a striking contrast with the documentary patterns of comparable figures.

(III) Comparative Analysis of Explanations for the "Zero-Record" Phenomenon

- Hypothesis of accidental omission: If the absence resulted merely from accidental factors, then the probability of simultaneous omission across 13 relatively independent documentary systems would be extremely low, constituting an extreme anomaly from the perspective of empirical comparison;
- Hypothesis of systematic exclusion: If the narrative concerning this figure never existed within the actual historical record, then naturally no trace of it would appear in any documentary system.

Empirical judgment: The latter provides a more reasonable explanation for the "zero-record" phenomenon.

(iv) Methodological Reflection: It should be clarified that this study is not attempting to calculate a mathematical proposition such as "the probability that Zhong Yiwan existed is X%." Rather, through comparison with the documentary patterns of comparable historical figures, it seeks to demonstrate that the "zero-record" phenomenon surrounding Zhong Yiwan constitutes an empirically extreme anomaly. The validity of this argument is based on:

- the comparability of similar figures (same period, same region, and equivalent or lower social and official status);
- the relative completeness of the documentary system (the thirteen-layer documentary system covers the principal categories of sources ranging from central to local records and from official to private writings);
- the stability of documentary preservation patterns (in general, the higher the official status, the greater the likelihood of documentary preservation).

It should further be noted that the conclusions of this section are premised upon the following conditions:

1. The claimed official position (Judicial Intendant at the circuit level) would ordinarily imply a relatively high probability of being documented;

2. The geographical scope of activity (spanning Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hunan) would normally create the possibility of leaving documentary traces in multiple regions;

3. The documentary density associated with contemporaneous figures such as Deng Deyu, Chen Ying, and Xiong Fei provides the comparative benchmark.

If a figure were:

- an ordinary commoner (whose name would not normally be expected to appear in official records);

- active only within an extremely limited locality (such as a single village or town);
- from an extremely remote historical period (such as before the Qin and Han dynasties).

Then "zero records" would not constitute negative evidence.

The Zhong Yiwan case presents precisely the opposite situation: the identity claimed in the narrative stands in stark contrast to the actual documentary record, and this contrast constitutes the key basis for judgment. Accordingly, based on a comprehensive assessment of the extant historical materials and institutional context, this pattern of systematic absence conforms more closely to the characteristics of historical fabrication than to those of accidental documentary loss.

(V) The Critical Significance of Chen Lian's Silence

Among all the categories of evidence, the silence of the documentary materials associated with Chen Lian possesses a uniquely powerful refutational force:

Logical structure:

The Zhong lineage claims that Chen Lian authored the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* → examination of Chen Lian's own works reveals the following:

- the Shanghai edition of the *Qinxuan Ji* contains twenty-seven *Mubiao*, yet none concerns Zhong Yiwan;
- the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* records the names of Judicial Intendants, yet contains no entry for Zhong Yiwan;
- the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* provides a detailed account of Chen Lian's fellow townsman Xiong Fei, yet contains no mention of Zhong Yiwan.

→ Conclusion: Chen Lian never authored this *Mubiao*, and the attribution to him is untenable.

This is not a matter of probability, but of logical contradiction:

- if the *Mubiao* were authentic, Chen Lian must necessarily have known of such a figure, and it would be implausible for all three of his works to omit him entirely;
- all three works omit him entirely → Chen Lian was unaware of such a figure → therefore the *Mubiao* must be a later fabrication.

3.9.3 Brief Assessment of Modifying Factors

In historical documentary research, the absence of records may result from a variety of factors. It is therefore necessary to assess whether such factors can adequately explain Zhong Yiwan's "systematic absence."

I. Assessment of Documentary Loss Factors

Assessment of likelihood: Extremely low

The documentary materials selected in this study are all authoritative editions in good condition:

- Official dynastic history system: the *History of Song* and the *History of Yuan* are officially compiled dynastic histories with clearly traceable textual transmission;
- Epigraphic system: the text of the Inscription on the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* has been completely preserved in local archival materials;
- Local gazetteer system: all cited local gazetteers are officially compiled editions preserved in complete form;
- Individual collected works: Chen Lian's *Qinxuan Ji* was first printed in the sixth year of the Zhengtong reign (1441, during Chen Lian's lifetime), reprinted in the forty-fifth year of the Wanli reign (1617), and reprinted again in the sixtieth year of the Kangxi reign (1721) by Chen Lian's descendants at Wanjuantang. The textual transmission of the editions is clear, and the risk of textual loss is extremely low.

The Zhong lineage narrative may attempt to argue that the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* genuinely existed, but was accidentally omitted when Chen Lian compiled his collected works. This claim, however, still requires a focused refutation at the micro level.

The preceding discussion has already demonstrated at the macro level that the textual transmission of the *Qinxuan Ji* was clear and that the risk of textual loss was extremely low. The following six lines of evidence further examine, from the perspectives of the alleged relationship between Chen Lian and Zhong Yiwan, the compilation mechanism of the collection, and the internal logic of its inclusion criteria, why the "omission hypothesis" lacks verifiable support.

Evidence 1: The first edition was personally reviewed by Chen Lian during his lifetime, ruling out the defense that "the editor was unaware."

The *Qinxuan Ji* was first printed in the sixth year of the Zhengtong reign (1441), while Chen Lian was still alive. This means that the contents selected for the first edition reflected the author's own final editorial intentions, rather than selection errors introduced by later compilers. Any text that Chen Lian intended to preserve could have been published during his lifetime; conversely, any text excluded from the collection should be understood as the result of Chen Lian's own editorial decision, rather than later textual loss or editorial oversight. Accordingly, the absence of the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* from the *Qinxuan Ji* directly indicates that Chen Lian himself did not recognize the existence of such a text during his lifetime. The defense that "the editor was unaware and accidentally omitted it" is therefore logically untenable.

Proof 2: The "nei zeng zhi" (内曾侄, a grandnephew-generation relative from the wife's kinship line) kinship relation constructed by the Zhong lineage narrative itself constitutes a serious self-undermining contradiction.

The Zhong lineage text explicitly states: "Chen Lian, described as the Duke's "nei zengzhi" (內曾侄) and serving as a Professor of Guilin Prefecture, inscribed and erected the *Mubiao* in 1376, where it remains to this day." According to this narrative, Chen Lian belonged to the affinal kinship line of Zhong Yiwan's wife and maintained a definite familial relationship with Zhong Yiwan. Within traditional Chinese ritual ethics, composing a *Mubiao* for a senior kinsman was not merely a matter of private sentiment, but also a moral and ritual obligation. Such a text would ordinarily be expected to be preserved in the author's collected works as an expression of ritual remembrance and reverence for ancestral ties. If this kinship relation were genuine, Chen Lian's omission of the *Mubiao* of such a closely related elder from his collected works would have bordered on a serious breach of ritual obligation and would have been extremely difficult to explain within the framework of traditional ritual norms. Conversely, if the *Mubiao* was never included in the collection, then the authenticity of the kinship relation itself also becomes questionable. The Zhong lineage narrative therefore falls into a double paradox: if the *Mubiao* is genuine → the kinship relation must also be genuine → the omission violates ritual propriety and becomes implausible; if the omission can be justified → ritual obligations lose their binding force → the kinship relation itself also becomes doubtful. Under either interpretation, the Zhong lineage narrative becomes internally contradictory and fails to remain self-consistent.

Evidence 3: The inherent anomaly in the direction of omission—the collection supposedly omits the person most closely connected to the author.

If the "omission theory" were accepted, it would mean that Chen Lian happened to omit precisely a figure who simultaneously possessed three layers of close association with him: shared native place (both being from Dongguan), alleged kinship ("great-nephew on the wife's side"), and overlapping official service in Guilin. According to the normal conventions governing literary collections, the closer a person's connection to the compiler, the greater

the likelihood of inclusion. By contrast, omissions usually occur among peripheral figures who are distantly related to the compiler, possess unremarkable biographies, or lack substantial moral prestige; the four supplementary texts added in the Shanghai edition all belong to this category. Zhong Yiwan—if he genuinely existed—would occupy a "must-include" position in all three dimensions simultaneously. A pattern in which the compiler specifically omitted the individual most closely connected to him therefore constitutes an extreme anomaly at the level of anthology-compilation logic.

Evidence 4: The reverse paradox of official rank—figures of lower status are recorded, while the allegedly eminent figure is absent.

The *Qinxuan Ji* may conceivably have omitted certain low-status figures such as recluses, but it is highly unlikely that it would have omitted a judicial intendant so closely connected to the compiler. An examination of the distribution of official positions among the individuals recorded in the *Qinxuan Ji* shows that most figures included in the collection held no official office at all. Among those who did hold office, the overwhelming majority occupied positions lower than that of a judicial intendant, and some were even Yuan-dynasty officials—figures whose moral standing, from the perspective of Song loyalism, would have ranked below that of anti-Yuan loyalist martyrs. If Zhong Yiwan had indeed been a Song-period lu-level judicial official, his official rank would have exceeded that of most individuals included in the collection, while his moral prestige as an anti-Yuan loyalist martyr would have been far greater still. According to the normal principles governing literary inclusion, such a figure should have belonged to the category of "must-include" individuals. Yet Yuan-dynasty instructors are recorded, while a Song anti-Yuan judicial intendant is absent altogether, producing a striking inversion of rank and moral significance. This result runs directly contrary to ordinary patterns of inclusion and cannot reasonably be explained as an "accidental omission." Rather, it suggests that Zhong Yiwan's claimed identity as a

judicial intendant could not have been established within Chen Lian's own horizon of knowledge.

Proof 5: Overlapping work locations constitute an "inevitable" information condition.

Chen Lian, who once served as a Professor of Guilin Prefecture, conducted on-site official service and historical investigation in Guangxi, on the basis of which he compiled the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*. As a result, he possessed relatively favorable conditions for obtaining information concerning Song dynasty Judicial Intendants in Guangxi. Volumes 4 and 5 of the gazetteer contain dedicated rosters of Song dynasty Judicial Intendants in Guangxi. If a figure such as "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Zhong Yiwan" had ever truly existed, Chen Lian would have faced neither geographical separation nor institutional and documentary barriers to obtaining such information. There would have been no objective obstacle preventing him from becoming aware of this person. The absence of Zhong Yiwan from the roster of Judicial Intendants in the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, together with the absence of his *Mubiao* from the *Qinxuan Ji*, mutually corroborate one another, jointly demonstrating that even under the most favorable conditions for information acquisition, Chen Lian nevertheless left no trace of any knowledge of such a person. Under such factual circumstances, the "omission" theory is difficult to sustain.

Proof 6: The recording of Xiong Fei's deeds in the collected writings forms a refutational closed loop grounded in the contrast between Chen Lian's documented knowledge of Xiong Fei and his complete silence regarding Zhong Yiwan.

In the *Qinxuan Ji* (《琴軒集》), both the "*Mubiao for Li Gong of Meiwai*" and the "*Mubiao for Zhao Gong, Song dynasty Chaosan Lang, styled Qiuxiao*" contain accounts of Xiong Fei. The Zhong lineage narrative claims that Zhong Yiwan "was ordered by Deng Deyu to go to Guangzhou, where he fought alongside the righteous militia of his fellow townsman Xiong Fei." If this account were true, then Xiong Fei's experience of joint activity

with Zhong Yiwan in Guangzhou would necessarily have left traces in the historical materials concerning Xiong Fei available to Chen Lian. However, Chen Lian makes no mention whatsoever of "Zhong Yiwan, Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi, who served alongside Xiong Fei." He neither employs Zhong Yiwan to support the account of Xiong Fei's deeds, nor, in narrating the deeds of his fellow townsman Xiong Fei, does he make any incidental reference to Zhong Yiwan, the affinal relative of the person described in the Zhong lineage narrative as his nei zeng zhi (內曾侄) husband's family connection. Since official histories, local gazetteers, and private collections such as Zhao Biyu's *Fubu Ji* (《覆瓿集》) of the Song dynasty all contain records of Xiong Fei, and since Chen Lian was familiar with local historical materials, he clearly possessed a thorough understanding of Xiong Fei. Yet there is not a single trace of Zhong Yiwan. This documentary pattern of "attestation of one and absence of the other" strongly demonstrates that the narrative of Zhong Yiwan fighting alongside Xiong Fei is purely a constructed account; Chen Lian had no knowledge whatsoever of him, nor did he ever compose any related text.

The six pieces of evidence discussed above encompass the compilation mechanism of the collected writings (Proof 1), the logic of kinship and ritual obligation (Proof 2), the patterns governing inclusion practices (Proof 3), the hierarchy of official rank (Proof 4), the informational conditions of the place of office (Proof 5), internal cross-corroboration within the collected writings (Proof 6). From different dimensions, they address multiple possible explanatory pathways for the "omission" hypothesis.

These six lines of evidence are mutually independent and mutually corroborative. Any one of them, if valid on its own, would already suffice to constitute an effective refutation of the "omission theory." Taken together, the cumulative force of all six renders the "omission" hypothesis logically untenable.

Conclusion: Documentary loss cannot explain the simultaneous systemic absence of records across all thirteen documentary systems. Even if individual documents were lost, such losses would not produce a systemic lacuna of this scale.

II. Assessment of Regional Recording Bias

Probability assessment: Not applicable

The Zhong Yiwan case possesses the following characteristics, which exclude the explanatory power of regional recording bias:

1. Institutional prominence of the office: A lu-level Judicial Intendant belonged to the category of high-ranking supervisory officials. Such officials were normally recorded in both central documentary systems (official dynastic histories) and local gazetteers. Generally speaking, there was no tendency for officials serving in peripheral regions to be systematically omitted from records.

2. Cross-regional scope of activity: The claimed sphere of activity covers Guangdong (Dongguan and Guangzhou), Guangxi (Jingjiang Prefecture, Cangwu, and Yulin), and Hunan (Quanzhou and Changsha), spanning multiple localities across three provinces. If such a figure had truly existed, it is extremely unlikely that he would be entirely absent from official documentation.

3. Validity of comparative verification:

- Officials of the same lu-level rank (such as Deng Deyu and Ma Ji) are all clearly recorded;
- Contemporaneous prefectural- and county-level officials (such as Chen Ying and Zeng Fenglong) are all recorded in local gazetteers;
- Even lower-ranking figures from the same region (such as Xiong Fei and the imperial examination candidates Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan) still appear in the documentary record;

Conclusion: Regional bias cannot explain the complete absence of Zhong Yiwan from all documentary materials relating to the regions involved.

III. Assessment of Period-Based Selective Factors

Reasoning approach: Reverse inference

If period-based selectivity (for example, the deliberate suppression of Song loyalists by Yuan dynasty historiographers) were the reason for the absence of records, then the following pattern should be expected:

- All anti-Yuan figures would be absent from the historical record;
- Certain categories of individuals would have been systematically excluded.

But the actual situation is as follows:

- The *History of Song* contains a dedicated "Biographies of Loyal and Righteous Persons" section, which records in detail figures who resisted the Yuan. Deng Deyu and Ma Ji are both included in these biographies;
- Ming dynasty local gazetteers widely commemorated loyal and righteous figures of the preceding dynasty, of which the "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*" serves as an example;
- Officially compiled Qing-dynasty gazetteers provide extensive supplementary documentation on anti-Yuan figures from the late Song period, as evidenced by Ding Shanqing, Educational Commissioner in the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign, who, after "visiting all prefectures, departments, and counties to seek out those publicly recommended for their loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and righteousness" in his *Record of the Reconstruction of the Zhonggong Shrine*, added "the two gentlemen Quan and Liang" as accompanying sacrificial enshrinees.

Conclusion: There exists no historical mechanism capable of explaining the "selective exclusion" of Zhong Yiwan. On the contrary, the consistent emphasis placed on anti-Yuan

loyalists throughout the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods would have made Zhong Yiwan (if he had truly existed) even more likely to appear in the historical record.

3.9.4 Conclusion: From "Reasonable Doubt" to the Exclusion of Reasonable Doubt

Table 4. Strength of Argumentation in This Study

Types of Evidence	Strength of Evidence
Institutional negation	★★★★★ (Hard evidence)
The double silence of official history and inscriptions	★★★★★ (Hard evidence)
Refutation from the person whose name was usurped (Chen Lian): age paradox + misunderstanding of the Tanzhou–Changsha same-city configuration (see Section 4.3) + The chronological anachronism of the two-tier place-name and administrative division combination "Dongning Township, Xi'an Fort" (東凝鄉西岸堡, *Guangxu-era form*). + Xiong Fei's Place of Martyrdom (Textual Contradiction between the *Zhan Shaoyang* and the Mubiao; see Section 5.4) + systematic silence across three works	★★★★★ (Five layers of independent hard evidence)
Multiple systematic gaps in literature	★★★★ (Strong Corroborating Evidence)
Anomalies in comparison with people from the same period	★★★ (Supporting evidence)

Based on the multi-layered evidence discussed above, it can be concluded that this narrative lacks support from credible historical sources. From the perspective of social history, its mechanism of construction closely conforms to the broader pattern identified in existing scholarship, whereby Ming and Qing lineage groups accumulated ancestral prestige through lineage genealogies. The analytical framework underlying this interpretation will be further refined in Chapter 6.

This judgment does not rely upon precise probabilistic calculation, but is instead grounded in:

1. direct negative evidence from core documentary sources (including the *History of Song*, the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit*, and the collected writings of Chen Lian);

2. Cross-corroboration among multiple documentary systems.

4. Logical Refutation: Irreconcilable Contradictions in Time, Geography, and Military Logic

4.1 Systematic Contradictions in Spatiotemporal Narrative: Errors in Temporal Anchoring and Paradoxes of Military Logic

First. The Zhong lineage text states:"In 1278, Changsha and Hengyang fell one after another, and the Yuan forces were in a position to advance directly into Guangxi..." However, verification against historical records reveals the following:(1) The fall of Changsha:"In the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), Ariq Qaya attacked Tanzhou. In the second year (1276), the Yuan forces captured Tanzhou, and the defending generals Wu Jiming and Liu Xiaozhong surrendered the city." [65](2) The fall of Quanzhou:"In the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign (1276), after the Yuan forces captured Tanzhou, Xiao Yansou, magistrate of Qingxiang, led the populace in surrender. In the fourth month of the fourteenth year, a Pacification Commission was established; in the sixth month, it was reorganized into the Quanzhou Route General Administration, which continued to govern the two counties."[66](3) The fall of Jingjiang Prefecture:"In the eleventh month, the vanguard forces reached Yan Pass. As the defenders refused them entry, the Yuan forces defeated them, and also routed Commander Ma Yingqi at Xiaorong River, before advancing upon Jingjiang... In order to cut

[65]Jiajing edition of *Changsha Fuzhi* (嘉靖《長沙府志》, Changsha Prefecture Gazetteer), juan 1, "Administrative Evolution."
[66]Jiaqing edition of *Quanzhou Zhi* (嘉慶《全州志》, Quanzhou Gazetteer), juan 1, "Administrative and Geographical Evolution."

off the upper watercourse, they breached the southeastern embankment, drained the moat, and captured the city."[67].

The Zhong lineage narrative places the fall of Changsha in 1278, whereas historical records clearly establish that it fell in 1276, creating a discrepancy of two years. This chronological error causes the subsequent sequence of events in the narrative to become difficult to reconcile with actual historical developments.

Conclusion: The 1278 narrative is entirely detached from the historical record, and its chronological framework cannot be reconciled with established historical facts.

Second, and more importantly, even if one provisionally adjusts the narrative to correspond to the actual historical dates of the fall of the relevant cities, the Zhong lineage narrative still remains logically untenable in claiming that, while stationed in Cangwu, Deng Deyu detached forces and sent Zhong Yiwan to assist his fellow townsman Xiong Fei in Guangzhou—a city located several hundred li away, which had not yet fallen and did not fall within Deng Deyu's jurisdiction.

(1) The fall of Cangwu:"In the second month of spring in the first year of the Jingyan reign of Emperor Duanzong (1276), a black spot appeared in the sun. The Yuan general Ariq Qaya pacified Wuzhou." [68]

(2) The surrender, recapture, and fall of Yulin City:"On the fourth day of the twelfth month in the first year of the Deyou reign of the Song dynasty, Yulin City surrendered. On New Year's Eve, Deng Deyu and Chen Ying recaptured the city. On the fifth day of the fifth

[67] *Yuan Shi* (《元史》, History of Yuan), juan 128, "Lie zhuan 15: Ariq Qaya (阿里海牙)" ("Biographies 15: Ariq Qaya").

[68] Tongzhi edition of *Cangwu xian zhi* (同治《蒼梧縣志》, Cangwu County Gazetteer), juan 17, "Waichuan jishi shang" ("Supplementary Records: Anecdotal Accounts, Part 1").

month in the second year of the Deyou reign (1276), Yulin City was breached, and Deng Deyu cast himself into the Nanliu River."[69];

(3) The fall, recapture, and abandonment of Guangzhou:"... In the sixth month of the second year of the Deyou reign (1276), the Yuan forces entered Guangzhou, and Huang Jun, commander of the Cuifeng Army, died in battle. In the autumn, in the ninth month, Xiong Fei of Dongguan, together with Zeng Fenglong, magistrate of Xinhui County, recaptured Guangzhou. The imperial boat subsequently reached Guangzhou and anchored at Jiazi Gate. In the tenth month of winter, the Yuan forces entered Shaozhou, where Zeng Fenglong and Xiong Fei died in battle..."[70]"... In the twelfth month, Zhao Jin abandoned Guangzhou, and Fang Xing, the Regional Military Commissioner, also fled."[71].

The narrative claims that, while stationed in Cangwu, Deng Deyu dispatched Zhong Yiwan to Guangzhou. This means that the latest possible date of dispatch must have been before the fall of Cangwu, namely before the second month of spring in 1276.However, the historical record states:"In the sixth month of the first year of the Jingyan reign, when the Yuan forces entered Guangzhou, Xiong Fei raised troops in support of the court. Upon hearing that Chancellor Wen Tianxiang was directing military affairs in Jiangxi, he intended to place himself under Wen's command." This indicates that Xiong Fei only planned to join Wen Tianxiang's anti-Yuan resistance in Jiangxi in June 1276. [72]It was not until the ninth month that he returned to recapture Guangzhou, and he died in battle at Shaozhou in the tenth

[69]Tongzhi edition of *Guangxi Tongzhi* (同治《廣西通志》, General Gazetteer of Guangxi), juan 146, "Jianzhi er shi yi" ("Establishment 21"); (Qing) Wang Sen (汪森), ed., *Yuexi wenzai* (《粵西文載》, Collected Literary Works on Guangxi), Siku Quanshu edition, juan 38, "Stele Inscriptions: Shrines and Temples" (Beiwen ·Cimiao 碑文 祠廟).
[70]Yongzheng edition of *Guangdong Tongzhi* (雍正《廣東通志》, General Gazetteer of Guangdong), juan 6, "Jishi" ("Chronicles"); Jiaqing edition of *Dongguan Xianzhi* (嘉慶《東莞縣志》, Dongguan County Gazetteer), juan 27, "Renzhi" ("Biographies").
[71]Guangxu edition of *Guangzhou Fuzhi* (光緒《廣州府志》, Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer), juan 77, "Qianshi lue san" ("Brief Account of Past Events, Part 3").
[72]Jiaqing edition of *Dongguan Xianzhi* (嘉慶《東莞縣志》, Dongguan County Gazetteer), juan 27, "Renzhi" ("Biographies").

month. Accordingly, the Zhong lineage narrative cannot be reconciled with its claimed 1278 chronology. Even if one provisionally accepts the claim that Deng Deyu had already detached forces and dispatched Zhong Yiwan to Guangzhou before the fall of Cangwu in the second month of 1276, the narrative still contains a fundamental logical contradiction: at that time, Xiong Fei had not yet raised his forces.

Furthermore, the narrative states:"In early 1276... because military strength in Cangwu was severely insufficient, Deng Deyu, in order to avoid direct confrontation with the enemy, dispatched Zhong Yiwan to Guangzhou to conduct coordinated operations together with the loyalist forces of his fellow townsman Xiong Fei... thereby delaying the Yuan advance toward Cangwu. In the third month, Xiong Fei died in battle..." This narrative contains multiple fundamental contradictions at the levels of military logic and spatiotemporal construction:

(1) Strategic logic paradox. If "Cangwu's military strength was severely insufficient," then the limited forces should have been concentrated to defend the local area rather than dispatching troops to provide distant aid. Such a move would not only fail to alleviate the crisis in Cangwu, but would also accelerate the loss of the area due to the outflow of the main force. Moreover, it runs counter to the stated objective of "avoiding direct confrontation."

(2) Paradox of dividing forces under crisis. As the Guangxi Judicial Intendant, Deng Deyu's responsibility to defend his territory required him to prioritize the defense of his own circuit. He was already unable to secure his jurisdiction; how could he have had the capacity to cross the border and intervene in the military and political affairs of Guangdong? Furthermore, the situation in Yulin was particularly critical—on the fourth day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Deyou era (1275), Deng Deyu refused to surrender, Prefect Chen surrendered the city, and Chen Ying and his loyalist forces fought three street battles, all ending in defeat. Only at the fifth watch of New Year's Eve did they finally join forces

with Deng Deyu to recapture the city. Under such circumstances, seeking distant reinforcements (by dispatching troops to Guangdong) instead of consolidating local defense not only violated the official ethics of “defending one’s assigned territory,” but also contravened basic principles of military troop deployment.

(3) Spatiotemporal sequence paradox. Factually, Cangwu had already fallen in February of the second year of the Deyou era (1276), while Guangzhou did not fall until June of the same year—meaning that the intended reinforcement target did not exist. Xiong Fei only recaptured Guangzhou in September and died in battle in Shaozhou in October. The narrative that “Xiong Fei was killed in Guangzhou in March” misrepresents both the timing and location of his death, resulting in a severe spatiotemporal inversion.

In conclusion, the narrative exhibits irreconcilable contradictions in terms of strategic rationality, the exercise of official authority and responsibility, and spatiotemporal accuracy, severely violating the basic historical facts of military geography and official systems in Guangdong and Guangxi during the Song and Yuan dynasties. The following (Table 5) assumes a correction of the year 1278 to around 1276 and examines, point by point, the logical feasibility of this narrative according to historically accurate timelines. Special attention is paid to the systematic contradictions between Zhong’s claim of “working with Deng and rushing to the aid of Xiong Fei in Guangzhou” and the records in the *History of Song*, the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit*, the *Cangwu County Gazetteer*, the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, the *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, and the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*.

Table 5. Even if the date is revised to around 1276 according to historical facts, Zhong’s narrative still contains multiple logical paradoxes

Time Node	Zhong’s Family/CPP CC Website Narrative	Historical Facts at This Point in Time (Song History, Inscriptions, Local Chronicles)	Real Space State	Logical Paradox Analysis

Time Node	Zhong's Family/CPP CC Website Narrative	Historical Facts at This Point in Time (Song History, Inscriptions, Local Chronicles)	Real Space State	Logical Paradox Analysis
Early January to early February 1276	He claimed to be "in Cangwu" discussing matters with Deng, and Deng sent Zhong to Guangzhou.	Yulin had just been recaptured (only one month had passed since Lunar New Year's Eve); the situation remained extremely critical; Deng Deyu might move his capital to Cangwu or hold out in Yulin; Cangwu had not yet fallen; Guangzhou had not yet fallen; Xiong Fei had not yet raised an army.	Yulin: Critical situation; Cangwu: Not yet captured, but in critical condition; Guangzhou: Not yet captured	Paradox 1: The recipient of aid does not exist; dividing troops in a crisis violates military principles; Yulin had only been recaptured for one month, and Cangwu fell in two months; this one month was a critical moment of life and death. Sending Zhong to Guangzhou, hundreds of miles away (where Guangzhou had not yet fallen and was not under attack), would severely violate the fundamental principle of "concentrating forces to hold the line in a crisis."
February 1276	Zhong went to Guangzhou	Yuan general Ali Hague pacified Wuzhou, and Cangwu fell; Guangzhou remained unconquered; Xiong Fei had not yet raised an army.	Cangwu: has fallen; Guangzhou: has not fallen	Paradox 2: Cangwu has fallen, Guangzhou has not, and Xiong Fei has not yet raised an army. Under such temporal and spatial conditions, where could the target of reinforcement be? The temporal and spatial premises no longer hold.
February to May 1276	Zhong Yiwan went to Guangzhou to aid Xiong Fei, but Xiong Fei was killed in battle in March, causing chaos in	Guangzhou remained under Song control; Xiong Fei had not yet raised an army; Deng was resisting the Yuan in Yulin (a matter of life and death).	Guangzhou: Not captured; no fighting.	Paradox 3: Reversed Time Sequence Guangzhou only fell in June, at which point there was no war requiring aid. Providing aid to a war that hadn't even begun is illogical.

Time Node	Zhong's Family/CPP CC Website Narrative	Historical Facts at This Point in Time (Song History, Inscriptions, Local Chronicles)	Real Space State	Logical Paradox Analysis
	Guangzhou; coincidentally, his wife passed away, so he returned to his hometown of Dongguan.			
May 5, 1276	Zhong "traveled day and night to reach Yulin."	The Yuan army arrived in force; Deng Deyu drowned himself in the Nanliu River and died for his country; Yulin fell; Guangzhou remained unconquered.	Yulin: Fallen; Deng: Dead; Guangzhou: Not yet captured	Paradox 4: The "always late" design means the most crucial moment is not at the scene of the martyrdom. The *History of Song* and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* detail Deng's martyrdom but make no mention of Zhong. The "just late" design circumvents historical verification.
June 1276	"Secluded" in Yulin	Guangzhou fell; the Yuan army entered Guangzhou, and General Huang Jun was killed; Xiong Fei raised an army to fight against the Yuan in Jiangxi; Deng had died a month earlier.	Guangzhou: Just fell	Paradox 5: The clock that marks the outbreak of war is "hidden" in Yulin. Guangzhou fell at this time. If Zhong had already gone to Guangzhou to help, why is there no record of it in the "Guangzhou Prefecture Annals"? In June, Xiong Fei raised an army to go to Jiangxi, but was blocked by Huang Shixiong and returned to Dongguan. This means that Xiong Fei was not in Guangzhou in June.

Conclusion: During the period of anti-Yuan resistance in Jingjiang Prefecture, Yulin, Cangwu, and Guangzhou (December 1275–June 1276), Zhong Yiwan is entirely absent from all official historical records and inscriptional sources. Moreover, the claim that Zhong Yiwan "discussed anti-Yuan strategies together with Deng Deyu and rushed to Guangzhou to aid Xiong Fei" contains fundamental logical contradictions and severe spatiotemporal inversions. This demonstrates that Zhong Yiwan never participated in the actual historical events of the anti-Yuan resistance.

4.2 The Historical Reasons for Deng Deyu's Relocation of the Judicial Intendancy to Cangwu and the Plausibility of the Strategic Proposal Constructed in the Zhong Lineage Narrative.

Based on an analysis of Guangxi's geographical position, strategic passes, and historical military campaigns, together with the accounts recorded in the *Yuan Shi* (*History of Yuan*) ("Biography of Ariq Qaya") and the *Song Shi* (*History of Song*) ("Biography of Ma Ji") [73], it is evident that Jingjiang Fu (Jingjiang Prefecture) served as the principal gateway for the Yuan army's southward advance into Guangxi. Therefore, if the objective was to "block the Yuan army's southward advance," defensive forces should logically have been deployed in and around Jingjiang Fu (corresponding to present-day Pingle and Lingui in the Guilin region).

Excerpt from the *Yuan Shi* ·Biography of Ariq Qaya:

"In the eleventh month, the vanguard troops reached Yan Guan. Ma Ji defended the pass and refused them entry, defeating their forces. [Ariq Qaya] subsequently defeated the Song commander Ma Yingqi at Xiaorong Jiang and advanced toward Jingjiang. He had the imperial edict bestowed upon Jingjiang shown to Ma Ji, but Ma Ji burned it and executed the

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[73] *Song Shi* (《宋史》, History of Song), juan 210, "Zhongyi liu: Ma Ji" ("Loyalty and Righteousness VI: Ma Ji"); *Yuan Shi* (《元史》, History of Yuan), juan 128, "Liezhuan 15: Ariq Qaya" ("Biographies XV: Ariq Qaya").

messenger. Jingjiang relied on waterways for defense, so [the Yuan army] constructed dams to cut off the Dayang and Xiaorong rivers, blocked the upper waters, breached the southeastern embankment, drained the moat, and captured the city."

Excerpt from the *Song Shi* ·Biography of Ma Ji:

"When the Pingzhang Ariq Qaya attacked Guangxi, Ma Ji dispatched his own troops together with forces from the various dong communities to defend Jingjiang, while he personally led three thousand men to guard Yan Guan. He dug cavalry trenches and blocked the mountain routes. When the Yuan army failed to capture Yan Guan, it sent a flanking force into Pingle, passed through Lingui, and launched a pincer attack against Ma Ji."

Alternatively, an analysis of the two principal routes connecting the Central Plains with Guangxi during the Song dynasty—(1) the main Xiang-Gui route from Quanzhou to Jingjiang Fu, and (2) the secondary Hezhou route from Daozhou in Hunan to Hezhou in Guangxi—indicates that defensive forces could also have been deployed along the more distant Hezhou route (the Mengzhuling route).[74]

Since Cangwu was located in the southeastern part of Guangxi, the advice attributed to Zhong Yiwan—"Zhong Yiwan said to Deng: 'If the Yuan army advances toward Cangwu, our forces will be exposed to attacks from both the front and rear; preparations should therefore be made.' Deng found this reasonable and personally led his troops to Cangwu to block the Yuan army's southward advance"—fundamentally contradicted the basic principles of military geography and amounted to a strategic misjudgment akin to "marching south while attempting to defend the north." More seriously, it would have constituted the abandonment of a strategic stronghold in the face of the enemy.

[74](Song) Zhou Qufei (周去非), annotated by Yang Wuquan (楊武泉), *Lingwai Daida Jiaozhu* (《嶺外代答校注》), juan 1, "Dili 004: Wuling" ("Geography 004: Wuling"), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1999: 11.

In fact, according to the *Song Shi* and the *Guangxi Tongzhi* (*General Gazetteer of Guangxi*), the actual reasons for Deng Deyu's move to Cangwu (or the relocation of the Judicial Intendant office to Cangwu) may have been as follows:(1) The *Song Shi* records that: "Not long afterward, Ma Ji replaced him in military command, and the two disagreed in the discussion of affairs." Deng therefore relocated the Judicial Intendant office to Cangwu.(2) Another possibility is that the Guangxi Judicial Intendant office maintained administrative offices in both Yulin Zhou and Jingjiang Fu. In accordance with routine administrative practice, Deng Deyu may simply have been traveling to subordinate prefectures within Guangxi on official business. Moreover, traveling southward from Jingjiang Fu to Yulin required passing through Cangwu. At the time, the transportation route from Jingjiang Fu to Yulin proceeded from the Lingqu Canal down the Li River to Cangwu, then upstream along the Xi River to Tengzhou, and further upstream along the Beiliu River through Guimen Pass into Yulin.[75] This suggests that Deng Deyu's presence in Cangwu may have resulted from ordinary administrative or transportation considerations, rather than from the military strategy described in the Zhong lineage narrative.

4.3 Institutional Confusion in the Administrative Relationship Between Tanzhou and Changsha

From the perspective of administrative territorial history, the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* contains yet another layer of conceptual confusion at the level of administrative institutions in its account of the Tanzhou campaign during the Deyou reign period (1275–

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[75]Ma Duanlin (馬端臨), *Wenxian tongkao* (《文獻通考》), juan 330, "Siyi kao 7" ("Examination of the Frontier Peoples VII"):"When Annam sends tribute, the corvée laborers conscripted along the prefectures and counties it passes through are numerous. From Jingjiang, one may proceed by water to Rongzhou. From Beiliu, it is 120 li by land to Yulin. From Yulin Prefecture, one may travel by water to Guangzhou, where salt boats for return voyages and ox carts available for salt transport can be hired. From Lian, it is a one-day sea journey to Jiaozhi. Thus, the more than 2,000 li southward from Jingjiang can be completed without conscripting a single laborer."

1276). The *Mubiao* states:"In the first year of Deyou … after the Yuan forces had already taken Changsha, all the surrounding prefectures fell into turmoil and panic. Zhong Yiwan defended the area with effective measures, and the people were thereby able to live in peace. In the following year, Yuan troops captured Tanzhou, and the prefectures of Heng, Yong, Chen, Dao, and others successively fell."

According to the *Wenxian tongkao*, the *Hunan Tongzhi* (*General Gazetteer of Hunan*), and the *Changsha Shizhi* (*Changsha City Gazetteer*), Tanzhou during the Southern Song period served as the administrative seat of Jinghu South Circuit, while the prefectural seat of Tanzhou was located in Changsha County. The two therefore stood in the relationship between a prefectural seat and its attached county seat. Changsha city was not only the administrative center of Jinghu South Circuit and Tanzhou, but also the seat of Changsha and Shanhua counties, forming a pattern of multiple administrative jurisdictions sharing the same urban space. This was analogous to the relationship between today's Suzhou Municipality and Gusu District: Changsha and Tanzhou existed in a hierarchical relationship of subordination and inclusion, rather than as two independent and parallel administrative-geographical entities.[76]

This point is corroborated by contemporaneous sources. The biography of Li Fu in the *Song Shi* (*History of Song*) records:"In the seventh month of the first year of Deyou, Ariq Qaya led a large army into Tanzhou. By the ninth month, the Yuan forces had already

[76]Ma Duanlin (馬端臨), *Wenxian tongkao* (《文獻通考》, Comprehensive Examination of Literature), juan 319, "Tanzhou … governed twelve counties, with its seat at Changsha and Shanhua." Jiaqing *Hunan Tongzhi* (嘉慶《湖南通志》, General Gazetteer of Hunan), juan 6, "Jianzhi yange san" ("Administrative Evolution III"): "Changsha County, attached to the prefectural seat … served as the administrative seat of Tanzhou in the Tang dynasty, a system continued in the Song dynasty." Changsha Municipal Local Gazetteer Compilation Committee (長沙市地方志編纂委員會), *Changsha shizhi* (《長沙市志》, Gazetteer of Changsha City), juan 2, "Jianzhi yange" ("Administrative Evolution"), Hunan People's Publishing House, 2004: 51–52: "During the Yuanfeng reign of Emperor Zhezong of the Song (1078–1085), Tanzhou was a superior prefecture with its seat at Changsha County. The city of Changsha served simultaneously as the seat of one circuit, one prefecture, and two counties (Changsha and Shanhua)."

surrounded the city. On New Year's Eve, the Yuan forces mounted the city walls."[77]Likewise, the biography of Ariq Qaya in the *Yuan Shi* (*History of Yuan*) records:"When Ariq Qaya arrived at Ezhou, he summoned Li Fu, the defending minister of Tanzhou, to surrender, but Li refused. He therefore moved his troops toward Changsha... In the tenth month of winter, he arrived at Tanzhou and shot letters into the city to show Li Fu. The people of Tanzhou again constructed a yuecheng (moon-shaped outer defensive wall) to resist. In the first month of spring in the thirteenth year, his general Liu Xiaozhong surrendered the city."[78]In both texts, "Tanzhou" and "Changsha" clearly refer to the same city, namely Changsha city.

However, the *Mubiao* constructs a narrative in which "the Yuan forces had already captured Changsha in the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), and then breached Tanzhou in the following year." In doing so, it artificially separates "Changsha" and "Tanzhou" into two successive place names and inserts a temporal and spatial interval between them. This narrative not only contradicts the basic institutional fact that Tanzhou and Changsha referred to the same urban entity, but also produces an absurd military scenario: if "Changsha" had already fallen while "Tanzhou" still remained, it would amount to claiming that the city had been captured while the prefectural government office continued to exist independently. The Zhong lineage compilers may have misunderstood the administrative geography of the Southern Song and mistakenly treated "Changsha" as an independent prefectural seat parallel to "Tanzhou." On this basis, they constructed a historical setting in which Zhong Yiwan allegedly "defended the city effectively, enabling the populace to remain secure and settled" during his time in "Changsha." They then retained "Tanzhou" for the subsequent narrative sequence in which "the prefectures of Heng, Yong, Chen, Dao, and others successively fell," thereby artificially creating two separate chronological stages and two distinct geographical spaces. This confusion reflects the compilers' inadequate understanding of the three-tier

[77]*Song Shi* (《宋史》, History of Song), juan 450, "Biography of Li Fu."
[78]*Yuan Shi* (《元史》, History of Yuan), juan 128, "Biography of Ariq Qaya (阿里海牙)."

administrative hierarchy of Jinghu South Circuit–Tanzhou Prefecture–Changsha County in the Song dynasty, as well as the historical evolution of these administrative units. It further undermines the institutional credibility of the narrative.

More importantly, this confusion produces a cumulative effect when combined with the chronological dislocation examined in Section 4.1. Even if the phrase "the Yuan had already captured Changsha in the first year of Deyou" were revised to 1276, the spatial sequence of "first Changsha, then Tanzhou" would still be untenable, since the two were simply alternative names for the same location. The Zhong lineage narrative thus falls into a double contradiction: the chronology is erroneous, and the spatial logic is equally flawed. No correction confined to a single dimension is sufficient to resolve its internal inconsistencies. When read together with the anachronistic designation "Song Quanzhou Lu" discussed in Section 2.2 and the chronological mismatch concerning the residence "Xi'an Fort, Dongning Township" examined in Section 3.8.2, the pattern becomes even clearer. All of these are examples of chronological or cognitive dislocations identifiable from within the text itself, independent of whether external documentary evidence survives. This constitutes intersecting evidence between the H-dimension (official and administrative institutions) and the L-dimension (logical stress), thereby forming a complete chain of proof: the narrative constructors lacked basic knowledge of the historical period in question, resulting in a general loss of historical authenticity in the narrative's representation of the Song dynasty administrative hierarchy and institutional evolution.

It is noteworthy that this institutional confusion left traceable marks during the later transmission of the narrative. Later cemetery records and reports published on the CPPCC website deleted "Tanzhou" while retaining "Changsha," whereas Baidu Baike entries removed the entire Hunan episode altogether. This mode of response—an "amputative

excision" rather than a substantive correction grounded in historical knowledge—will be further analyzed in Section 5.1.

5. Textual Mechanisms: An Analysis of the Construction of Narrative Evolution, Collage Techniques, and False Attribution

5.1 Tracing the Evolution of Textual Narrative: A Three-Tier Self-Correction Mechanism from Zhong's Internal Records to Baidu Baike Entries to CPPCC Website Reports

The preceding sections have systematically refuted the Zhong Yiwan narrative from the perspectives of institutions, historical sources, and spatiotemporal logic. This section approaches the issue from a different angle—by placing side by side three levels of texts: Zhong lineage records (including the *Mubiao* and cemetery records), the Baidu Baike entry on "Zhong Yiwan," and reports published on the Yulin CPPCC website, in order to trace the specific transformations of the narrative during its transmission. These changes themselves constitute a set of independent signals of refutation: they reveal how the narrative constructors attempted to repair internal flaws when confronted with external systems of knowledge, and how such revisions instead exposed previously concealed problems.

5.1.1 Three-Tier Comparison of Core Elements

For the purpose of systematic comparison, the table below presents in parallel the corresponding statements across the three tiers (four texts) from four dimensions: official titles, key chronological points, textual narrative, and social background and qualifications. The comparison makes it possible to observe intuitively that the narrative was not transmitted in a static form, but instead underwent significant dynamic revisions during its transmission.

Table 6. Comparison of the core elements of Zhong Yiwan's three-layered narrative text

Comparison Dimensions	***Mubiao***	**Cemetery Records**	**Baidu Baike Entry**	**Yulin CPPCC Website Reported**
Zhong Yiwan's official title	The *Mubiao* (tomb announcement): " Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu (提刑全州刑獄)"	The cemetery records read: "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" (廣西全州路提刑使司,i.e., the Tixing Office of Quanzhou Lu in Guangxi). The tombstone inscription: "Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (宋全州路提刑使,i.e., the Song Tixingshi of Quanzhou Lu).	Title: "Southern Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (南宋全州路提刑使) Body text: "Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (全州路提刑使).	"Zhong Yiwan was appointed to succeed Deng Deyu as the Guangxi Judicial Intendant (jie chong Guangxi tidian xingyu 接充廣西提點刑獄)."
Deng Deyu's official title	"Tixing Guangyou"; later referred to as "Jingjiang Jinglüeshi"	In the 1262 entry, Deng is described as "Guangzhou Lu Tixingshi"; in the 1270 entry, he is said to have been transferred by imperial decree to serve as "Guilin Jinglüeshi"	"Southern Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (南宋全州路提刑使) Zhong Yiwan and "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu)" (廣西提點刑獄) Deng Deyu are recorded side by side..	"Guangxi Jinglüe Anfushi concurrently serving as Zhijingjiangfu." The designation was revised from the *History of Song*, but the narrative misinterprets the term she (攝) and transforms a temporary acting appointment into a substantive office.
Date of writing by Chen Lian	In the first month of the Bingchen year of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign of	The date is clearly recorded as "1376."	Revised to "the 29th year of Hongwu (1396)"—correcting the age	Citing the name of Chen Lian's *Mubiao*, the year of its composition is not specified.

Comparison Dimensions	*Mubiao*	Cemetery Records	Baidu Baike Entry	Yulin CPPCC Website Reported
	the Ming dynasty (1376 AD).		paradox by post-dating composition to after Chen Lian had come of age	
Changsha–Tanzhou narrative	"In the first year of Deyou, the Yuan forces had already taken Changsha" and "In the following year, Yuan troops captured Tanzhou"—a sequential two-stage narrative.	In 1275, attacked Changsha; deleted the Tanzhou episode; in 1278, "Changsha and Hengyang fell one after another."	Completely bypassed the Changsha narrative, stating only: "In the second year of the Deyou reign of the Southern Song (1276 AD), the Yuan army captured Changsha and Guangzhou."	Deleted the Tanzhou episode; refined into two phases: "large-scale military pressure" in September 1275 and "capture" in early 1276 (largely revised in accordance with historical facts).
Narrative of Xiong Fei's Death	In the second year of the Deyou era: "The following year... when the gentleman (Zhong Yiwan) arrived, Xiong Fei had just been defeated and killed, and Guangzhou was in great turmoil."	" In 1278, Xiong died on the battlefield in Guangzhou."	The text only states "attacked to contain the enemy," completely omitting the time and place of death.	Add "In March, Xiong Fei died in battle in Guangzhou"—(Historical fact: He died in Shaozhou in October)
Zhong Yiwan's background and qualifications	"Deng was impressed by him and recruited him to his staff" → appointed as "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄) (with no official position or credentials whatsoever, a	"Born into a wealthy family," " In 1262, in Guangzhou, Deng Deyu recruited Zhong into his service," without any prior official position.	It directly jumps to the time of his appointment, omitting all details of his background.	Added a complete promotion chain: the year 1262 in Guangzhou was deleted, and it was changed to: "Initially appointed as the so-called "Quanzhou Budianguan" (全州捕點官)" →

Comparison Dimensions	*Mubiao*	Cemetery Records	Baidu Baike Entry	Yulin CPPCC Website Reported
	commoner was directly elevated to this claimed office).			"'Tixing Zhishi' (提刑知事)" → "'Guangxi Tidian Xingyu' (廣西提點刑獄)."

5.1.2 The Construction of Deng Deyu's Official Position: Errors in Zhong Lineage Records and Subsequent Revisions

Zhong's Zhong lineage records describe Deng Deyu in the 1262 section as "Guangzhou Lu Tixingshi Deng Deyu" (廣州路提刑使鄧得遇). This statement contains two layers of error. First, the Biography of Deng Deyu in the *History of Song* clearly records that he obtained the jinshi degree in Chunyou 10 (1250). Thereafter, he successively served as Registrar of Ningyuan County, Magistrate of Nanchang County, and Vice Prefect of Longxing Prefecture. There is no verifiable evidence that he was serving as a Tixingshi in Guangzhou Lu in 1262. Second, the title "Tixingshi" (提刑使) itself belonged to the Jin dynasty and was not used in the Song dynasty. The mistakes and omissions in the Zhong lineage records concerning Deng Deyu's official positions and career trajectory reflect the possibility that the narrative constructors lacked a thorough understanding of the relevant official historical sources.

Baidu Baike places side by side "Zhong Yiwan, Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi (全州路提刑使) of the Southern Song" and Deng Deyu as "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (tidian xingyu 提點刑獄)." This does not resolve the institutional error embodied in the *Mubiao*'s purported "Quanzhou Lu"-level administrative establishment and its pairing with the office of Tixingshi. It also creates the contradiction of the simultaneous existence of two Judicial Intendants within the same circuit (see Sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 for details).

The CPPCC website revised Deng Deyu's official title to "Guangxi Military Pacification Commissioner and Prefect of Jingjiang Prefecture." The direction of this revision indicates that the compiler had by this stage consulted the *History of Song*. However, the misinterpretation of the character "she" (攝) (see Section 2.3 for details) led the compiler to reconstruct a temporary acting authority as a formal promotion, which in turn generated the succession narrative that "Zhong Yiwan succeeded to the post." This act of revision itself reveals the self-adjustment mechanism of the constructed narrative during its transmission.

5.1.3 Versional Reconstruction of the Changsha–Tanzhou Narrative: Substantive Revision as a Self-Negation of the *Mubiao*'s Status as an "Original Work"

The deeper significance of this trajectory of revision lies in the fact that it has left behind precisely traceable evidence of versional evolution. These traces, in turn, constitute substantive evidence of a textual rupture between the extant narrative and the *Mubiao*'s claim to be an "original work" authored by Chen Lian in the ninth year of the Hongwu reign.

First level: Substantive reconstruction of the narrative's spatiotemporal framework. The *Mubiao* originally adopts the narrative framework that "the Yuan had already captured Changsha in the first year of the Deyou reign, and Yuan forces captured Tanzhou in the following year." The cemetery account rewrites this as "the Yuan army attacked Changsha in 1275" and removes the Tanzhou episode altogether. The version published on the Yulin Municipal CPPCC website further refines the narrative into "enemy forces approached in September 1275 and captured the city in early 1276." This series of changes goes far beyond textual copying or supplementary annotation and instead constitutes a substantive reconstruction of the narrative's spatiotemporal framework. The resulting differences among the extant versions cannot be explained through ordinary processes of textual transmission.

Second level: The differences among the versions themselves negate the authenticity claim of the *Mubiao* as an "original work." If the *Mubiao* were indeed a stable original work

authored by Chen Lian, variations introduced during subsequent transmission should, in principle, have been limited to textual annotation rather than substantive revision of the core narrative. The extant versions, however, exhibit continuous revision of substantive content together with repeated structural reorganization. Through their own revisions, the transmitters demonstrate that the *Mubiao* was treated not as an immutable historical original, but as a dynamic text that could be continually reconstructed in light of subsequently available historical materials. In doing so, they objectively undermine the claim that the *Mubiao* is an original work authored by Chen Lian.

Taken together, these two levels show that the versional evolution of the Changsha–Tanzhou narrative provides an independent path of textual refutation. This evidence corroborates the three-tiered pattern of systematic textual revision identified in Section 5.1 and jointly demonstrates the systematic vulnerability of constructed narratives when subjected to rigorous historical scrutiny.

5.1.4 Narrative Errors Concerning Xiong Fei's Death

Zhong's record state that "in 1278, Xiong Fei died on the battlefield in Guangzhou," thereby incorrectly recording both the time and place of his death, as discussed earlier.

The CPPCC website report further adds that "in March, Xiong Fei died in battle in Guangzhou"—whereas the historical record shows that he actually died in Shaozhou in October. This indicates that, although the compiler of the CPPCC report refined the chronology in accordance with the needs of the narrative itself (because the narrative places the death of Zhong Yiwan's wife in Dongguan during this period), the compiler still failed to consult authoritative historical sources directly related to Xiong Fei.

By contrast, the Baidu Baike entry continues to adopt an evasive strategy in its treatment of Xiong Fei: it merely states that he "penetrated deep into his hometown of

Guangzhou to launch attacks and contain the enemy," retaining only the direction of action while omitting the outcome altogether.

This progressively diminishing density of information—from the vaguer accounts in the Zhong lineage records, to the CPPCC report adding erroneous details, and finally to the Baidu Baike entry deleting nearly all details—clearly reveals the different narrative strategies employed by the three textual layers when confronted with the same risk of refutation.

5.1.5 Supplementary Construction of Details Concerning Zhong Yiwan's Background and Qualifications

The Zhong lineage records describe Zhong Yiwan as having been "born into a powerful and prestigious family" and state that "in Guangzhou, Deng Deyu recruited Zhong into his forces," yet provide no prior official background or career trajectory whatsoever.

The Baidu Baike entry jumps directly to the period of Zhong Yiwan's supposed appointment, omitting all details concerning his background and qualifications. While this avoids the risk of factual verification, it simultaneously exposes the lack of any verifiable institutional basis by which an ordinary commoner could supposedly rise in a single step to the purported position of "Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (宋全州路提刑使).

The CPPCC website report further revised the narrative by deleting the date "1262" associated with Zhong Yiwan's emergence in the Zhong lineage records and changing the place of Deng Deyu's recruitment of Zhong from "Guangzhou" to "Quanzhou." It then introduced an additional sequence of constructed appointments: "initially serving as a Quanzhou Budian Guan" → "Tixing Zhishi" → "Guangxi tidian xingyu" (廣西提點刑獄).

However, the constructors failed to verify the Song dynasty official system and consequently invented two official titles that did not exist under the Song administrative structure (the first two titles above). Furthermore, the claim that a commoner could rise

directly to such a high-ranking judicial post was incompatible with the Song dynasty's appointment system for judicial intendants, as discussed earlier.

5.1.6 Correction of the Date of Chen Lian's Composition of the *Mubiao*

The Baidu Baike entry also revised the date of Chen Lian's composition of the *Mubiao,* changing it to "the twenty-ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1396)." This revision indicates that the entry editors had already recognized the chronological paradox surrounding the 1376 date and accordingly moved the date of composition to a period after Chen Lian had reached adulthood.

5.1.7 Directions of Revision and Constructional Features of the Narrative: A Comparative Analysis

The various revisions discussed above were not accidental. By examining the direction of each revision alongside the Constructional Features it reflects, the broader pattern becomes more clearly visible. The table below systematically reviews the major revisions from the Zhong lineage records to the CPPCC website reports and identifies the overall tendencies toward either an "increase in informational density" (↗) or a "reduction in informational density" (↘).

Table 7. Comparative Analysis of the Direction of Textual Revision and Constructional Features in the Zhong Yiwan Narrative, from the Lineage Genealogy to the CPPCC Website Report

Project Revision	Specific Amendment Content	Direction	The Constructional Characteristics Reflected in the Correction
Deng Deyu's official position	"The so-called Guangzhou Tixingshi" → "Guangxi Pacification Commissioner (jinglüe shi) concurrently serving as Prefect of	↗	Although some revisions have been made based on the *History of Song*, the misinterpretation of the character "she" (攝) as

Project Revision	Specific Amendment Content	Direction	The Constructional Characteristics Reflected in the Correction
	Jingjiang Prefecture (jian zhi Jingjiang fu)”		“Acting Pacification Commissioner” (see Section 2.3) has introduced new institutional errors, reflecting the constructors’ superficial understanding of the Song dynasty’s official system.
Date of writing by Chen Lian	“The first month of the Bingchen year of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1376)” → “The twenty-ninth year of the Hongwu reign (1396)”	↗	The Baidu Baike entry has been revised to state that Chen Lian came of age and passed the imperial examination.
Changsha–Tanzhou narrative	Original *Mubiao*: two-stage juxtaposition “took Changsha →captured Tanzhou” → Cemetery records / CPPCC website report: deleted Tanzhou (retained only Changsha); CPPCC website further corrected the timeline to “large-scale military pressure in September 1275 → capture in early 1276” in accordance with historical facts → Baidu Baike entry: deleted the entire Hunan episode altogether.	↗	The two types of revision are fundamentally different. The chronological correction is a knowledge-based rectification (the compilers consulted historical sources). The deletion of the Tanzhou episode is an amputative evasion (the compilers sensed that the juxtaposition was problematic, could not rectify it, and therefore simply cut it out). This mode of handling is a typical response of a constructed narrative when confronted with institutional-history scrutiny. Together with the Baidu Baike “information-minimization” strategy, it belongs to the logic of evasion rather than the logic of truth-seeking. At the same time, it also constitutes a self-negation of the authenticity and authority of the *Mubiao* as an original work authored by Chen Lian.

Project Revision	Specific Amendment Content	Direction	The Constructional Characteristics Reflected in the Correction
Xiong Fei died in battle	"Died in battle in Guangzhou in 1278" → "Died in battle in Guangzhou in March 1276"	↗	Adding specific months makes the narrative more vivid; however, " March" is actually constructed for its own narrative (at which time Chen died in Dongguan), while historically Xiong Fei died in Shaozhou in October, reflecting that the compiler did not consult this historical material.
Zhong Yiwan's background and qualifications	"Born into a powerful family" → Constructing a complete promotion chain from the so-called "Quanzhou Budianguan" (全州捕點官) to "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事) to "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi tidian xingyu 廣西提點刑獄)."	↗	It was added to remedy the fundamental flaw of allowing a baiyi (commoner) to enter official service without legitimate qualifications. However, the so-called Budianguan (捕點官) and Tixing Zhishi (提刑知事) were official titles with no institutional basis in the Song dynasty, and this designation was inconsistent with the appointment system for Judicial Intendants.
Baidu Baike information volume	internal narrative of the Zhong family → The entry is extremely concise, with almost no verifiable specific information points.	↘	An "information minimization" risk management strategy is adopted; however, the unusually scarce amount of information about the claimed high-ranking official title "Southern Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" (南宋全州路提刑使) itself is a signal of a constructed narrative.

5.1.8 Structural Interpretation of the Three Narrative Layers: Strategic Adjustments of the Narrative across Different Contexts and Periods of Dissemination

Based on the foregoing analysis, the differences among the three narrative layers are not merely the result of "natural information loss in transmission," but rather reflect a systematic adjustment of the balance between narrative risk and credibility according to different periods, different contexts of dissemination, and different target audiences.

The early Zhong lineage records were oriented toward an internal lineage audience. Their primary purpose was to reinforce lineage prestige and internal cohesion rather than to pursue historical accuracy. The constructors did not carefully verify basic historical sources such as the *History of Song*, resulting in frequent flaws including erroneous official titles and chronological contradictions. However, the shared identity structure within the lineage was sufficient to neutralize these defects, allowing the narrative to remain largely insulated from external scrutiny.

The CPPCC website reports, by contrast, were later directed toward a broader public audience and therefore required a greater degree of historical credibility. At this stage, the compilers consulted sources such as the *History of Song*, corrected some of the most obvious errors in the Zhong lineage records (such as Deng Deyu's official title), and added more specific narrative details—such as "Xiong Fei died in battle in March" and the promotion chain from the so-called "Quanzhou Budian Guan" (全州捕點官) to "Tixing Zhishi" (提刑知事)—in order to enhance the appearance of authenticity. Yet these revisions remained only partial and superficial, while the newly added details in turn introduced new verifiable errors.

The Baidu Baike layer, meanwhile, was oriented toward the general online public, where the degree of verifiability was considerably higher. The editors therefore adopted an "information minimization" strategy—removing almost all specific dates, locations, and event details, while retaining only names, periods of office, and extremely generalized

descriptions of activity. They also revised the date of Chen Lian's composition of the *Mubiao*. This made it difficult to find clear points of challenge based solely on the content of the entry itself; however, the cost was that the entry became so impoverished that it contained almost no substantive information.

This mechanism of progressive adjustment is itself an important characteristic of the dissemination strategy of constructed narratives. Authentic historical narratives may undergo selective emphasis when transmitted across different contexts, but their core information does not undergo fundamental alteration according to the channel of dissemination. Constructed narratives, however, display the opposite tendency: different versions are presented to different audiences at different times, with variations so substantial that even the official title of the same individual differs across the three narrative layers. This phenomenon of multiple coexisting versions stands in sharp contrast to the relative stability characteristic of authentic historical records and constitutes one of the most diagnostically valuable structural signals in tracing the evolution of constructed narratives.

The cumulative layering of the Zhong Yiwan narrative is therefore not simply a case of "the later the period, the greater the figure."[79] Rather, it exhibits a pattern of "directional revision," whereby every modification is directed toward enhancing institutional plausibility and evading empirical verification. In the course of this process, even the core contents of the so-called *Mubiao* have been continuously reconstructed.

This evolution does not move toward historical fact, but rather toward an increasingly convincing "appearance of correctness," thereby producing a form of constructed narrative that "appears progressively more authentic." It is precisely through this process that a narrative originally confined to the internal sphere of the lineage gradually transforms into a form of "quasi-historical knowledge" within public discourse. Analyzing this mechanism

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[79]Gu Jiegang (顧頡剛), *Gushi Bian* (《古史辨》, Debates on Ancient History), Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982, Vol. 1, Part II, 60.

thus represents a crucial step in the study of textual refutation, marking the transition from "factual judgment" to a "critique of knowledge production."

The method of "narrative evolution tracing" employed in this section constitutes a specific application of the "I-dimensional textual genealogy tracing method." Unlike the "cross-sectional refutation" employed in earlier sections—which compared the narrative with historical facts within a particular dimension—this section adopts a "longitudinal analysis" approach, tracing the dynamic transformation of the same narrative across time. The two methods are complementary: cross-sectional refutation establishes the identification of a "constructed narrative," whereas longitudinal analysis reveals the mechanism-level processes through which constructed narratives spread and undergo self-repair, thereby providing a deeper perspective for understanding the life cycle of constructed narratives.

5.2 Textual Construction: Seven Layers of Associative Traces with Authentic Historical Sources

This section employs the textual genealogy tracing method as an analytical tool to compare, one by one, the material correspondences between the Zhong Yiwan narrative and authentic contemporary historical sources, thereby identifying seven specific collage-like manifestations of its mechanism of "halo appropriation":

Trace One: Halo Appropriation through Official Titles. The core constructed official titles in the Zhong lineage texts, namely "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" and "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si", derived their prototypes from Deng Deyu's authentic office title, "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi Tidian Xingyu)." Knowing that Deng Deyu served as the Guangxi judicial intendant, the constructors extracted the two characters "Tixing" and grafted onto them the place name "Quanzhou", thereby fabricating new official titles.

Trace Two: Halo Appropriation through the Refusal-to-Surrender Episode. The narrative states:"In the twelfth month, the Yuan sent a wanhu with heavy rewards to induce

surrender, but Deng Deyu and Zhong Yiwan remained unmoved.” This episode imitates the account recorded in the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑) Inscription:“On the fourth day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Deyou era, the Yuan ordered Wanhu Qi to bring an imperial edict to Yulin, instructing Deng Deyu and others to surrender. Deyu angrily rebuked him and drove him away.” At the same time, the narrative deliberately inserts Zhong Yiwan into the episode in order to appropriate part of the halo of loyalist resistance.

Trace Three: Halo Appropriation through the Ma Ji (馬驥) Defection Episode. The narrative states:“In September of the first year of the Deyou era (1275), the Yuan army pressed toward Changsha, and the Guangxi frontier was in crisis. Supreme Commandant Ma Ji led troops to reinforce Guangxi. At this moment, Zhong Yiwan perceived Ma Ji’s wolfish ambitions and secretly wrote to Deng Deyu, warning that Ma Ji’s conduct was abnormal and that he should never be entrusted with major responsibilities. Soon afterward, ‘Ma Ji indeed secretly defected and returned, and Deng Deyu deeply admired Zhong Yiwan.’” This episode alters the account in the *History of Song*, Biography of Deng Deyu:“In the first year of the Deyou era, Changsha came under attack. Deng Deyu dispatched the supreme commandants Ma Ji and Ma Yingqi to reinforce it. Ma Ji secretly defected and returned. Deng Deyu executed him and entrusted all military affairs to Ma Yingqi.” The constructors added the dramatic detail of Zhong Yiwan “seeing through Ma Ji’s wolfish ambitions.” Yet according to the historical record, the principal participant in this episode was Ma Yingqi rather than Zhong Yiwan.

Trace Four: Halo Appropriation through Geographic Trajectory. Zhong Yiwan’s entire activity route imitates Deng Deyu’s actual historical trajectory:Deng Deyu served as Guangxi judicial intendant and was stationed in Jingjiang Prefecture → Zhong Yiwan was fictitiously placed in Quanzhou as preparation for his background narrative: “initially serving as the so-called Quanzhou Budian Guan” → the narrative then constructs Deng Deyu as

“recruiting him into his staff and entrusting him with the position of Tixing Zhishi” → he subsequently “succeeded to the office of Guangxi judicial intendant”, thereby borrowing Deng Deyu’s real service trajectory in Jingjiang Prefecture to complete Zhong Yiwan’s fabricated sequence of official advancement; Deng Deyu “relocated his office to Cangwu” → Zhong Yiwan “arrived in Cangwu”;Deng Deyu died for the country in Yulin → Zhong Yiwan “hurried to Yulin” upon hearing news of Deng’s martyrdom.

Trace Five: Halo Appropriation through Character Grafting (Xiong Fei).The insertion of Xiong Fei constitutes an ingenious form of “character grafting.” Xiong Fei was a genuine anti-Yuan figure from Dongguan with an official biography. The constructors exploited this real historical figure in order to construct for Zhong Yiwan the narrative of “assisting a fellow townsman.”

Trace Six: Halo Appropriation through the Guangzhou Relief Narrative. In the Zhong lineage narrative, the episode in which Zhong Yiwan rushed to reinforce Guangzhou borrowed its narrative prototype from the authentic account in the *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* describing how:“Zeng Fenglong, magistrate of Xinhui, led local militia forces to Guangzhou.”

Trace Seven: Halo Appropriation through the Narrative Ending. Although the CPPCC website version merely records Zhong Yiwan as “hearing the tragic news of his benefactor Deng Deyu”, the Zhong lineage texts instead place Zhong Yiwan directly at the scene of Deng Deyu’s martyrdom:“Deng could not withstand the Yuan army and cast himself into the Nanliu River.” The narrative thus symbolically positions Zhong Yiwan as a “witness” to this heroic scene, encouraging readers to associate him with loyalty and righteousness. Yet the text carefully avoids stating that Zhong Yiwan himself died for the country. Instead, it merely depicts him as “sighing toward Heaven”, thereby allowing him to appropriate the halo of

loyalist martyrdom. The narrative also borrows elements from the story of Chen Ying "living in seclusion and refusing to serve the Yuan dynasty for the remainder of his life."

The patchwork construction of full official titles, the halo appropriation of historical events, the imitation of narrative rhythm, and the implantation of moral didacticism all reveal the fundamentally collage-like nature of constructed narrative texts.

5.3 Character Selection Mechanisms: Selective Implantation and Selective Avoidance

5.3.1 The rationale behind the selective avoidance of Chen Ying, Quan Qi'ao, and Liang Miyuan

The "absence" of figures such as Chen Ying in the Zhong lineage narrative may be understood as a form of "selective" presentation within the process of narrative construction.

Chen Ying: Magistrate of Nanliu, who resisted the Yuan together with Deng Deyu. His deeds are recorded in the "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*", the "*Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*", and the "*General Gazetteer of Guangxi.*" He was a local anti-Yuan leader in Yulin. Once Chen Ying is mentioned, it immediately raises the question: "Why does the '*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*' record Chen Ying but not Zhong Yiwan?" More critically, "應孑身出萬死中，奔鄧提刑麾下" states that Chen Ying escaped alone from extreme danger and went to serve under Judicial Intendant Deng Deyu. If Zhong Yiwan were also a Judicial Intendant, it would produce an institutional staffing paradox of two Judicial Intendants within the same lu.

Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan: The two men were mentioned only briefly in the "*Stele of Loyalty and Merit*" because they "died after failing to assist Lord Chen in recovering the city." Nevertheless, because their deeds were explicitly recorded, they were later additionally enshrined in the Zhonggong Shrine during the Daoguang period. Mentioning them would likewise provoke the question: "Why are even minor soldiers

recorded, while a supposedly high-ranking Tixing official such as Zhong Yiwan is entirely absent from the historical record?”

5.3.2 The three functions of implanting Xiong Fei into the narrative

The Zhong lineage texts avoided these three figures as a form of calculated self-protection. By contrast, the implantation of Xiong Fei into the narrative served three distinct functions:

(1) Borrowing institutional prestige: Xiong Fei possessed an official biography in authoritative historical sources. By attaching Zhong Yiwan to Xiong Fei, the constructors attempted to create the impression that if Xiong Fei’s anti-Yuan activities were historically real, then Zhong Yiwan’s anti-Yuan activities must also have been real.

(2) Creating dramatic climax: The “rescuing Xiong Fei” episode provided the narrative with a dramatic turning point and heightened emotional tension.

(3) Creating spatial displacement within the narrative: The implantation of Xiong Fei also functioned to produce a form of spatial diversion in the narrative structure. It provided an apparent explanation for Zhong Yiwan’s absence from the core Yulin battlefield by sending him instead to Guangzhou, thereby avoiding direct comparison with core historical materials such as the “*Stele of Loyalty and Merit.*” However, this strategic implantation ultimately proved counterproductive. Xiong Fei, merely a “peasant righteous fighter”, appears repeatedly in official historical records, whereas Zhong Yiwan, who was claimed to have been a “lu-level ‘Tixingshi’ (提刑使)”, is entirely absent from the documentary record. This extreme contrast between claimed status and degree of historical documentation instead became one of the most persuasive comparative arguments in Chapter 3’s documentary refutation analysis.

The above three textual strategies all belong to the level of narrative technique. As for why the lineage required such a narrative of symbolic status, and the institutional functions of “ancestral capital” within local social competition during the Ming and Qing periods, these

issues will be discussed systematically in Chapter 6 from the perspective of social-historical conditions and operational mechanisms, and therefore will not be elaborated further here.

5.4 Pseudo-Authorship Mechanism: Chronological Paradox, Internal Motivation, Documentary Disjunction, and Textual Contradiction in the *Mubiao* Attributed to Chen Lian

Section 3.5 has already completed the core demonstration concerning Chen Lian's documentary system through the *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, the gazetteer of his ancestral home, while Section 3.6.3 has further examined the issue through the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, the gazetteer of his place of office. Section 3.9.2 also analyzed the "logical contradiction" arising from the fact that the *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, and the *Qinxuan Ji* all contain no record of Zhong Yiwan. Section 3.9.3 further closed off, one by one, the seven possible lines of defense for the "theory of accidental omission."

On the basis of the foregoing documentary refutations, this section further analyzes the chronological paradox surrounding the purported date of Chen Lian's composition of the *Mubiao*, the internal motivation behind the forgery attribution to Chen Lian, and the absence of the "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" from the *Qinxuan Ji*. Through this analysis, it further reveals a form of a priori rigid negation that does not depend upon the completeness of documentary preservation.

I. Zhong lineage records

According to Zhong lineage records, the "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" was written in "the first month of the Bingchen year of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign" (1376). The genealogy (see Appendix C) further records:"In the Bingchen year of the Hongwu reign (1376), the great-grandnephew through the maternal line of the Duke composed the *Mubiao* and had it engraved upon the stele as a permanent record."

This dating cannot possibly be dismissed as a mere scribal error, because it was confirmed through two parallel chronological systems simultaneously: the reign-title dating system and the sexagenary-cycle dating system.

According to the Republican-period edition of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* compiled by Chen Botao, a Dongguan native and Qing dynasty tanhua laureate, the gazetteer records:"Chen Lian, courtesy name Tingqi, literary name Qinxuan, was a native of Daqiaotou... In the 23rd year of the Hongwu reign (1390), he obtained the juren degree... He died in the 5th year of the Jingtai reign (1454) at the age of eighty-five." [80]According to traditional Chinese sui-age reckoning, this indicates that he was born in 1370.In addition, according to the "*Epitaph for Chen Gong, Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites*", written by Wang Zhi of the Ming dynasty:"... Zongyi married a woman of the Zhai family and had four sons, of whom the Duke was the eldest. His personal name was Lian, his courtesy name Yanqi, and his literary name Qinxuan. From childhood he was intelligent and fond of learning. He studied the Confucian classics under instructors at the county school. After completing his studies, he received recommendation credentials, but failed the metropolitan examination. He then entered the Imperial Academy and was later selected as Professor of the Guilin Prefectural School... The Duke was born on the seventh day of the fifth month of the Gengxu year of the Hongwu reign (1370), and died on the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the Jiaxu year of the Jingtai reign (1454), at the age of eighty-five..."[81]When these birth and death dates are compared with the dates recorded in the Zhong lineage narrative, the following two chronological paradoxes emerge. Both constitute contradictions that can be directly established without reliance upon any external documentary evidence.

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[80]Republic of China (Minguo 民國) *Dongguan Xianzhi* (《東莞縣志》, Dongguan County Gazetteer), juan 55, "Biography of Chen Lian (陳璉)."
[81]Xu Hong (徐紘) and Wang Yuan (王元), comp., *Ming mingchen wanyan lu* (《明名臣琬琰錄》, Records of Notable Ministers of the Ming dynasty), juan 20, "Epitaph Inscription for Chen Gong, Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites" (《禮部左侍郎陳公墓志銘》).

First, there is the paradox of personal capacity. In 1376, Chen Lian was only five and a half years old. This age limitation itself constitutes a rigid refutation of the claim that he composed the *Mubiao* on the following four levels:

Level One: Literary attainment. Traditional *Mubiao* composition was a highly specialized literary genre. It required mastery of parallel prose and classical prose, familiarity with the conventions of biographical writing, and considerable literary cultivation and scholarly training. Chen Lian himself did not obtain the juren degree until the twenty-third year of the Hongwu reign (1390), when he was already twenty years old, indicating that his literary ability had undergone long-term cultivation. In 1376 he was still a child, let alone capable of mastering the solemn and rigorous style required for a *Mubiao* dedicated to a lu-level supervisory official.

Level Two: Historical knowledge and judgment. The writer of a *Mubiao* was required to possess a relatively complete understanding of the deceased's official career, moral character, and historical deeds in order to "record the facts and transmit them to later generations." Zhong Yiwan is said to have died in the Jiayin year of the Yanyou reign of Emperor Renzong of Yuan (1314), more than sixty years before 1376. At that time Chen Lian was only five and a half years old. Not only had he never had any contact with Zhong Yiwan, but it would also have been impossible for him to obtain knowledge of Zhong Yiwan's deeds through normal scholarly or social channels. Moreover, "what is heard from others cannot be fully trusted." Objectively speaking, he lacked the most basic historical knowledge and judgment necessary for composing such a *Mubiao*.

Level Three: Social prestige. In the Ming dynasty, *Mubiao* writing possessed a distinctly commissioned character. Families usually invited socially prestigious literati to compose *Mubiao* in order to "borrow the brush of famous figures to enhance ancestral prestige." Chen Lian only obtained the juren degree in 1390 and subsequently served as

Professor of Guilin Prefectural School. His social prestige was therefore established only after his entry into official life through the examination system. In 1376 he had neither entered officialdom nor acquired any social standing sufficient to justify such a commission.

Level Four: Ritual qualification. Traditional Chinese ritual practice imposed implicit status requirements upon the author of a *Mubiao*, who was normally expected to be an adult elder. A five-and-a-half-year-old child still undergoing elementary education within the household would under no circumstances have possessed the ritual qualification necessary to compose a formal *Mubiao* for a lu-level official. This point can be directly established even without recourse to documentary citation.

These four levels are mutually independent yet mutually corroborative, all pointing toward the same conclusion: in 1376, Chen Lian lacked the fundamental qualifications necessary to compose the "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" in terms of literary attainment, historical knowledge and judgment, social prestige, and ritual qualification. The paradox of personal capacity is therefore established.

Second, there is the paradox of official status. The genealogy specifically identifies Chen Lian as "Professor of Guilin Prefecture," using this identity to legitimize his authorship of the *Mubiao* for the so-called "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi." However, Chen Lian only obtained the juren degree in 1390 and could not have assumed the office of Professor of Guilin Prefecture before that date. This means that in the purported year 1376, the identity "Professor Chen Lian of Guilin Prefecture" did not yet exist. Thus, not only was the alleged author still a minor, but the official identity upon which the attribution depended had likewise not yet come into existence. With both conditions absent, the attribution collapses logically.

The negating force of this chronological paradox is especially important because it does not depend upon the preservation status of documents or the completeness of any historical source system. It can be directly established simply through comparison between

Chen Lian's birth and death years (1370–1454) and the self-recorded date in the Zhong lineage narrative (1376). Compared with the seven layers of evidence discussed below, this paradox belongs to the category of "deductive rigid negation": it closes off, at the source, the most fundamental condition required for the attribution to be valid, thereby elevating the subsequent evidentiary layers from merely "excluding accidental omission" to positively demonstrating the absence of historical support.

This elementary chronological error itself reveals a typical limitation of Constructed Historical Narrative formation. The constructors clearly knew that Chen Lian had served as Professor of Guilin Prefecture and possessed a reputation for composing *Mubiao* for fellow natives, yet they failed to verify even his basic birth year, and thus arbitrarily constructed a date radically inconsistent with historical fact. This kind of carelessness—"knowing the name but not the reality"—is characteristic of Constructed Historical Narratives that seek to attach themselves to famous figures without thoroughly understanding their lives and writings. It also indirectly corroborates the conclusion reached in Section 3.6.3: when the narrative constructors falsely attributed the *Mubiao* to Chen Lian, they most likely had never encountered Chen Lian's *Guilin Junzhi*; otherwise, they would not have committed such a fundamental chronological error.

II. Motives for the Forgery Attribution: Why Chen Lian Was Chosen

Given that the chronological paradox already constitutes a rigid a priori negation, it becomes necessary to ask why the Zhong lineage selected Chen Lian as the target of forgery attribution. The motives may be analyzed on four levels:

First, the enhancement of prestige. Chen Lian was a Ming dynasty juren who successively served as Professor of Guilin Prefecture, Prefect of Chuzhou, and Provincial Surveillance Commissioner of Sichuan, before being promoted in the first year of the Zhengtong reign to Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites in Nanjing. He possessed high

status and considerable prestige within the Lingnan literary world, and was known for composing *Mubiao* for others. His "endorsement" could therefore greatly enhance the credibility of the narrative.

Second, geographical convenience. Chen Lian was a native of Dongguan, the same place claimed by the Zhong lineage as its ancestral home ("Chayuan Village, Dongguan"), thereby providing geographical plausibility for the attribution.

Third, official association. Chen Lian had served as Professor of Guilin Prefecture and thus possessed direct connections with Guangxi. It therefore appeared entirely plausible for him to compose a *Mubiao* for a so-called "Guangxi Tixing" official, making the attribution far more convincing than one involving a literatus from another province.

Fourth, the temporal window. Chen Lian died in the fifth year of the Jingtai reign, by which point several decades or even more than a century had already elapsed since the supposed events surrounding Zhong Yiwan. Those directly connected with the events had long since died, making direct verification impossible.

The precision of these four motives reflects the constructors' clear awareness of the logic underlying the borrowing of cultural authority. Yet it is precisely this deliberate attempt at borrowing authority that forms a sharp contrast with the chronological paradox discussed above: the constructors fully understood Chen Lian's prestige value, yet failed to verify even his most basic birth year. As a result, the very borrowed authority originally intended to enhance credibility instead became the strongest instrument of self-refutation.

III. Documentary Discontinuity and Textual Contradiction: The Inclusion of the Qinxuan Ji and Records Concerning Xiong Fei

The 2011 edition of the *Qinxuan Ji* published by Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House includes various literary genres such as fu, cao, ci, yuefu, poetry, and prose. The collection contains 1,015 poems, 634 prose pieces, 36 genealogical records and prefaces, and

27 *Mubiao* (tomb-table inscriptions), which sufficiently demonstrates that Chen Lian indeed had the practice of composing *Mubiao* for fellow villagers. The following is the complete catalogue of the 27 *Mubiao* contained in Volume 29 of the *Qinxuan Ji* and Volume 3 of the Shiwen Jiyi (Collected Supplementary Poems and Prose):[82]

(1) *Song Qingyin Guanglu Dafu Taiwei Liao Gong Mubiao*; (2) *Zhong'an Zhang Xiansheng Mubiao*; (3) *Meiwai Li Gong Mubiao*; (4) *Song Chaosanlang Qiuxiao Zhao Gong Mubiao*; (5) *Yitang Zhai Gong Mubiao*; (6) *Ne'an Chushi He Gong Mubiao*; (7) *Cai Fujun Mubiao*; (8) *Gu Ran Xiansheng Mubiao*; (9) *Yunlin Yin Chushi Mubiao*; (10) *Xixuan Li Chushi Mubiao*; (11) *Gu Yuan Dongguan Xian Ruxue Jiaoyu Zhao Gong Mubiao*; (12) *Song Longshui Yibu Zhai Gong Mubiao*; (13) *Gu Tairan Chushi Liu Gong Mubiao*; (14) *Fengyi Dafu Guangzhou Fu Tongzhi Chen Jun Mubiao*; (15) *Gu Yishi Deng Jun Guoqi Mubiao*; (16) *Chushi Gu Longxing Mubiao*; (17) *Gu Chushi Wu Jingzhong Mubiao*; (18) *Song Chushi Cai Gong Mubiao*; (19) *Yanxi Chen Chushi Mubiao*; (20) *Song Gongyuan Cai Gong Mubiao*; (21) *Chushi Mai Jingyang Mubiao*; (22) *Li Jun Youqin Mubiao*; (23) *Wu Gong Zhongchen Mubiao*; (24) *Song Chushi Wei Gong Mubiao*; (25) *Yuan Xunzhou Panguan Wei Gong Mubiao*; (26) *Chushi Shoudao Zhang Gong Mubiao*; (27) *Xuecun Chushi Ding Gong Mubiao*.

Among the twenty-seven *Mubiao*, there is no "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*." If such a text had truly existed, there would have been no reason not to include the *Mubiao* of such an important and closely related lu-level tixing official in the collection (see the six-fold proof in Section 3.9.3).

Furthermore, the records in Kangxi-edition *Qinxuan Ji*, Volume 29, concerning Li Chunsou and Zhao Biyu encouraging Xiong Fei, also constitute corroborative evidence for refutation from another perspective:

[82]Chen Lian (陳璉), *Qinxuan ji* (《琴軒集》, Qinxuan Collection), juan 29, Wanjuantang reprint edition in the 60th year of Kangxi reign (1721). Modern collated edition: Yang Baolin (楊寶霖), ed., *Qinxuan ji* (《琴軒集》), Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2011: 1782–2072.

Excerpt from “*Meiwai Li Gong Mubiao*”:

“Since ancient times, virtuous gentlemen, although unable to achieve great success in their own age, have often seen prosperity and greatness manifested in their descendants. The deeper the accumulation, the more flourishing the eventual outpouring... The Song court specially bestowed upon him the title “Meiwai Chushi” in recognition of his virtue. At that time, the Song ruler was temporarily stationed in the southern frontier. A local man of the district, Xiong Fei, raised troops in loyal defense of the ruler. After defeat, he withdrew and stationed himself near the suburbs. The inhabitants fled into the mountains and valleys. Xiong Fei became enraged that the villagers would not submit to him and intended to unleash troops to arrest and slaughter them. The people were thrown into panic. The Duke tearfully remonstrated with him in extremely impassioned language. Because Xiong Fei had always respected the Duke, he finally desisted. At that time, bands of robbers seized the opportunity to plunder, yet because of the Duke, many refrained from committing outrages. In the dingchou year, Yuan generals Zhang and Lü captured Guangzhou. When their cavalry scouts approached the district, the people were all terrified. The Duke resolutely went together with Zhang Yuanji into the enemy camp and, relying solely upon eloquence, preserved the lives of the entire district’s inhabitants...”

Excerpt from “*Song Chaosanlang Qiuxiao Zhao Gong Mubiao*”:

“The gentlemen of antiquity served at the imperial court and distinguished themselves in their own age; after their deaths, their learning, conduct, and achievements were recorded by official historians... In the bingzi year, the local man Xiong Fei, after being defeated in his loyal attempt to rescue the ruler, returned and accepted an imperial command to recruit and pacify Eastern Guangdong from Xunzhou and Huizhou. Meanwhile, Liang Xiongfei, leading pacified troops, descended from Dayu Ridge and entered the city first. Xiong Fei and Liang then came into military conflict, which could not be resolved. At that time, the Duke was

living in retirement and said to Xiong Fei: ‘I have heard that the royal forces are stationed at sea and intend to dispatch Zhao Jin and Fang Xing to administer and pacify Eastern Guangdong. It would be better to act under the banner of the Song, communicate with the two commissioners, honor the Song ruler, and only then raise troops to enter the city. If successful, the region may be pacified; if unsuccessful, your name will nevertheless endure in history.’ Xiong Fei deeply agreed, immediately raised the Song banners, and led troops toward the city. Liang then withdrew far away and welcomed Zhao Jin and Fang Xing into Guangzhou. Afterwards, the Song forces intended to requisition all property and wealth from the local districts to finance military expenditures, causing great unrest among the people. The Duke petitioned Xiong Fei, offering from his own household three thousand strings of cash and five hundred shi of grain to support the army, and begged that the burdens upon the populace be reduced. Xiong Fei consented and entrusted the matter to the Duke. The Duke then assessed the wealth of each household and equalized the contributions, thereby sparing the local population from disturbance... These *Mubiao* are intended not only to allow the descendants of the deceased to know their origins, but also to serve as moral exemplars for scholars throughout the world.”

In *Zhan Shaoyang* (with Preface) (《戰韶陽》（並序）), it is also recorded:[83]

“Xiong Fei, a native of the district, possessed military skill and excelled in horsemanship and archery. In the late Song dynasty, he raised troops in support of the throne and served under the command of Grand Chancellor Wen Tianxiang. Later, Pacification Commissioner Zhao Jin dispatched Xiong Fei together with Zeng Fenglong, Magistrate of Xinhui, to defend Nanxiong, and subsequently sent junior military officer Liu Zili to guard Shaozhou. The Yuan generals Lü Shikui and Zhang Rong advanced from Jiangxi. Zeng Fenglong fell in battle at Nanxiong. Xiong Fei returned to Shaozhou. When Lü and Zhang

[83]Chen Lian, *Qinxuan Ji* (Kangxi edition), juan 5, “Zhan Shaoyang.”

arrived, Xiong Fei defended the city and fought fiercely. Before long, Liu Zili secretly surrendered the city to the Yuan forces, and Xiong Fei died fighting in the streets."

Chen Lian's collected works contain explicit records concerning the anti-Yuan activities of his fellow Dongguan native Xiong Fei. Yet they make absolutely no mention of Zhong Yiwan, whom the Zhong narrative claims fought side by side with Xiong Fei as the "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi." This documentary pattern of "recording Xiong Fei while remaining completely silent about Zhong Yiwan", on top of the already established age paradox, further confirms at the level of the collected works themselves that the narrative of Zhong Yiwan fighting alongside Xiong Fei is purely a textual construction.

A further distinction must be made here. The aforementioned "zhi bi bu zhi ci" ("knowing that but not this") constitutes only negative silence evidence. Its refutational logic rests on the inference that "Chen Lian should have recorded this but did not," and therefore requires the systematic exclusion of all possible explanations for accidental omission (see the sixfold demonstration in Section 3.9.3 for details). By contrast, the explicit statement in the *Zhan Shaoyang* that "Fei returned to Shaozhou … Fei fought in street combat and died" stands in direct and affirmative contradiction to the *Mubiao*'s account that "Deyu secretly dispatched the gentleman by a byway to Guangzhou and arranged for Xiong Fei to follow with troops from the rear. By the time the gentleman arrived, however, Xiong Fei had already been defeated and killed, and Guangzhou had fallen into great disorder," as well as to the CPPCC website's statement that "Xiong Fei died in battle in Guangzhou." In fact, Xiong Fei died in battle at Shaozhou rather than Guangzhou, a conclusion corroborated by independent historical sources, including the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong* and the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (see Section 4.1 and Table 5, "Paradox 3"); the detailed verification is therefore not repeated here. If the *Mubiao* had indeed been written by Chen Lian, then, within the same period, Chen Lian would have had to state in the *Mubiao* that Xiong Fei died in Guangzhou

while explicitly recording in his own Zhan Shaoyang that Xiong Fei died in Shaozhou. These two accounts, originating from the same author, stand in direct contradiction and cannot both be true. This contradiction differs fundamentally, in evidential status, from the aforementioned silence evidence: the former, by virtue of the contradiction itself, already excludes any explanatory space for accidental omission and therefore constitutes deductive rigid negation, whereas the latter remains inductive convergent negation. What is revealed here is precisely the concrete realization of the branch “records that directly contradict the narrative” under the R2 criterion of the Seven-Dimensional Framework (see Section 7.2.3).

IV. The Complete Structure of the Logical Closed Loop

By synthesizing the chronological paradox, the textual contradiction in the Zhan Shaoyang, and the sixfold proof in Section 3.9.3, the issue of the pseudo-authorship mechanism revealed in this section forms the following progressive logical structure:

First layer (this section): The temporal claim itself contains a critical chronological paradox—in 1376, Chen Lian was only five and a half years old, and the status of “Professor of Guilin Prefecture” had not yet existed; thus, the pseudo-authorship claim already lacked a valid basis at its very starting point. In addition, the explicit record in the *Zhan Shaoyang* that “Xiong Fei returned to Shaozhou … Xiong Fei fought in street combat and died” directly contradicts the account in the *Mubiao* that “Deyu secretly dispatched the gentleman by a byway to Guangzhou, arranged with Xiong Fei that he would follow with troops from the rear, and by the time the gentleman arrived, Xiong Fei had already been defeated and killed, and Guangzhou had fallen into great disorder,” as well as the CPPCC website’s statement that “Xiong Fei died in battle in Guangzhou.” These two accounts, both attributed to Chen Lian, cannot logically both be true, thereby constituting an independent piece of evidence belonging to the same category of deductive rigid negation as the chronological paradox.

Second layer (Proofs One and Two in Section 3.9.3): Even if the above deductive evidence is set aside, the explanation of "omission" remains difficult to sustain from the perspectives of anthology compilation mechanisms and kinship-ritual logic.

Third layer (Proofs Three and Four in Section 3.9.3): From the perspectives of inclusion-direction patterns and official-rank comparison, the explanation of "omission" constitutes an extreme anomaly at the level of the compilation rules governing the collection itself.

Fourth layer (Proofs Five and Six in Section 3.9.3): From the perspectives of the informational conditions arising from Chen Lian's place of office and the internal cross-verification within the collected works, Chen Lian objectively faced no obstacle to having known of Zhong Yiwan, had such a figure truly existed.

These four layers are mutually independent yet mutually corroborative. The chronological paradox and the textual contradiction in the *Zhan Shaoyang* both belong to deductive rigid negation and do not depend on the preservation status of the documentary system. The sixfold proof belongs to inductive convergent negation, cumulatively excluding various "omission" explanations from multiple dimensions. Although the two categories of evidence differ in nature and logical status, their conclusions point entirely in the same direction: the Zhong family's claim that Chen Lian wrote the *Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao* lacks any credible documentary or logical foundation at both the deductive and inductive levels. Thus, the logical closed loop of self-refutation by the falsely attributed author has been fully established.

The unique value of this closed loop lies in the fact that it uses the very "evidence" supplied by the constructors themselves—Chen Lian's alleged *Mubiao* and his claimed kinship status as a "great-great-nephew on the wife's side"—to negate the constructors' own claims. The Zhong family attempted to appropriate Chen Lian's symbolic authority in order

to enhance the credibility of their narrative; yet Chen Lian's actual birth and death years, together with his own documentary corpus, instead became the most powerful and irrefutable instruments for refuting the narrative itself. This is precisely the ironic logic of symbolic-capital competition identified by Pierre Bourdieu: the usurpation of another person's symbolic authority often collapses precisely because it exposes the usurper's ignorance of that authority.

5.5 Excessive Textual Completeness as a Signal of Constructed Historical Narrative

The previous section (Section 5.4) has already completed the refutation of the narrative's external-authority endorsement through analysis of the internal contradictions within the pseudo-authorship mechanism attributed to Chen Lian. This section shifts perspective and examines the unusually high degree of completeness displayed in the Zhong Yiwan narrative from the perspective of textual morphology itself, arguing that this formal characteristic constitutes an auxiliary structural diagnostic signal for identifying Constructed Historical Narratives within the multi-dimensional refutation framework of this study.

Authentic historical texts generally exhibit the following characteristics:(1) Fragmented chronology: often preserving only scattered years without a coherent narrative sequence;(2) Incomplete information: official titles, personal names, and place names are frequently missing or ambiguous;(3) Internal inconsistencies: different historical sources often contain conflicting records concerning the same event;(4) Irrelevant information: containing large amounts of detail unrelated to the central subject.

For example, the "Biography of Deng Deyu" in the *Song Shi* (*History of Song*) consists of only slightly more than two hundred characters, with abrupt informational jumps and many missing details. The text of the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑) is relatively more detailed, yet it remains limited to the Yulin region and only covers the period from the fourth day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Deyou era to the fifth day of the fifth

month of the second year of the Deyou era, when Yulin city fell. Because authentic historical materials originate from diverse sources and survive in dispersed form, they commonly exhibit a fragmented textual character.

By contrast, the Zhong family text presents an astonishing degree of "completeness":(1) Birth date: Jiading dingyou year of the Southern Song (1237)—precise to the year;(2) Death date: Yanyou jiayin year of the Yuan dynasty (1314)—precise to the year;(3) Official career sequence: from the so-called "Quanzhou Budianguan" to "Tixing Zhishi", and then to "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si"—forming a complete promotion chain;(4) Major deeds: from promotion in 1278 and resistance against the Yuan to retirement in 1279—forming a complete narrative arc, even including details such as "Deng Deyu deeply admired him" and "the gentleman said to Deng Deyu...";(5) Moral instruction: deathbed statements and family teachings—forming a complete moral-value loop;(6) Descendant lineage: explicitly identified as the progenitor of the Zhong lineage across the five Yulin counties—forming a complete genealogical system.

From a historiographical perspective, this highly complete and internally coherent narrative pattern exhibits clear characteristics of retrospective construction. Authentic historical records often appear fragmented and discontinuous, whereas the systematicity and completeness of the Zhong family text more closely resemble a reconstructed textual form produced by later generations.

This characteristic does not contradict the systematic ambiguity strategy discussed later in Section 5.6. Rather, the two represent different functional divisions within the same logic of construction operating at different narrative levels: macroscopic completeness serves to consolidate lineage identity, while microscopic ambiguity serves to evade external verification. Together, these two strategies support the survival and dissemination of the Constructed Historical Narrative.

The argument in this section also corresponds structurally with the analysis of the pseudo-authorship attributed to Chen Lian in Section 5.4: the pseudo-authorship mechanism reveals "who is constructing," whereas excessive textual completeness reveals "what form the construction takes." At the same time, it provides an important comparative framework for the dedicated discussion of ambiguity strategies in Section 5.6, enabling readers to understand the overall textual logic of Constructed Historical Narratives through the dialectical relationship between "completeness" and "ambiguity."

5.6 A Special Discussion of Ambiguity Strategies: Why Is "Fuzzy Narrative" Necessary?

5.6.1 Ambiguity as Protection: The Shielding Function of Mobile-Coordinate Narrative

The core function of ambiguity strategies lies in constructing a "refutation-cost barrier." A prominent characteristic of the Zhong family narrative is its systematic ambiguity. This ambiguity is not accidental, but rather a deliberately designed protective mechanism: by avoiding the provision of concretely verifiable information, the narrative prevents external critics from locating a clear refutable entry point.

Specifically, the text maintains ambiguity in the following dimensions:(1) Temporal ambiguity:Most events are associated only with years (which are themselves erroneous). It is noteworthy that some precise dates appearing in online transmission versions in recent years are often the result of gradual supplementation or modification during the process of narrative dissemination. Such later-stage revisions further reflect the characteristic tendency of the narrative to undergo continual adjustment during transmission in order to enhance its surface credibility.(2) Spatial ambiguity:Locations such as "Quanzhou," "Guilin," "Cangwu," "Guangzhou," and "Yulin" appear in a discontinuous and shifting manner. This spatial arrangement simultaneously enables the narrative to appropriate the real activity locations of historical figures such as Deng Deyu and Xiong Fei, while also avoiding the formation of a

fixed route that could be verified point by point. In this way, the narrative forms a kind of "mobile spatial framework."(3) Character ambiguity:In constructing interpersonal relationships, the narrative extensively appropriates the activity trajectories and deeds of real historical figures. For example, it embeds Deng Deyu's official and military activities, grafts onto itself the anti-Yuan deeds of the fellow townsman Xiong Fei, and borrows the historical image of Chen Ying as a recluse who refused to serve the Yuan dynasty. Through these devices, the narrative constructs a superficial associative structure among real historical figures.(4) Event ambiguity: The key narrative elements of the *Mubiao* underwent repeated reconstruction during the course of their transmission, leaving no stable and verifiable narrative core. In addition, expressions such as "jointly discussing resistance against the Yuan," "leading troops to provide aid," "traveling day and night," and "being unable to defeat the enemy" are largely highly generalized narrative formulas. Their primary function is to create a wartime atmosphere and construct an image of loyalty and righteousness, rather than to provide historically verifiable details. At the level of textual structure, such language is closer to rhetorical representation than to historical documentation in the strict sense.(5) Institutional ambiguity:The official titles and institutional structures appearing in the narrative remain persistently vague. They neither accurately correspond to actual offices within the Song administrative system, nor conform to the institutional logic governing the Song dynasty's recommendation system, qualification requirements, and appointment procedures. However, when viewed from the perspective of textual dissemination, the narrative demonstrates a gradual trend toward "approximating institutional plausibility" across different transmission stages: from the earlier internal family records of "Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" and "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si," to the "Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi" appearing on the Daoguang-period Tombstone and in the Baidu Baike entry, then to the official Yulin cultural-relic designation "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si," and

finally to the online-media formulation "Guangxi Judicial Intendant (Guangxi Tidian Xingyu)."

The effect of this "fuzzy and mobile-coordinate narrative" is that the related historical figures and events do in fact exist within historical materials. Although the Zhong family narrative itself lacks any traceable basis in official historical documentation, it is nevertheless able to generate an appearance of historicity at the surface level, thereby producing a certain degree of deceptiveness during the process of dissemination.

5.6.2 Fuzzy Verb System: "Traveling Day and Night" and "Then Proceeding to" = Evading the Concrete Through Abstraction.

The text employs a large number of vague verbs, constituting a grammatical strategy of "evading the concrete through abstraction." Expressions such as "traveling day and night to," "upon the gentleman's arrival," and "then proceeding to" imply urgency of movement, yet never clarify whether Zhong Yiwan actually participated in anti-Yuan military actions. This narrative technique encourages readers to mentally project Zhong Yiwan into anti-Yuan activities across different regions. At the same time, when confronted with the absence of official historical records, the narrative can conveniently respond that Zhong Yiwan simply "failed to arrive in time for the battle."

These vague verbs collectively construct a textual barrier that keeps the narrative perpetually in a "progressive state," while never providing any concrete "completed action." The core narrative strategy is to keep Zhong Yiwan permanently "on the road": when he arrived in Guilin, "Quanzhou had already fallen"; when he arrived in Guangzhou, "Xiong Fei had just been defeated and killed"; when he arrived in Cangwu, "Guilin and Cangwu had successively fallen again"; when he arrived in Yulin, "Deng Deyu was unable to defeat the Yuan forces and drowned himself in the Nanliu River."

This design of "perpetual lateness" cleverly explains why no records of Zhong Yiwan appear in any key historical events—not because he failed to participate, but because he was supposedly "just one step too late" every time. This narrative model simultaneously appropriates the historical prominence of major events such as the fall of Quanzhou, the fall of Guilin, the fall of Cangwu, and Deng Deyu's martyrdom, while also avoiding the risk of detailed verification, precisely because Zhong Yiwan was allegedly "not present at the scene."

5.6.3 Spatial Ambiguity: The Conflation of Five Locations Raises the Cost of Any Single-Point Verification.

The Zhong Yiwan narrative involves five principal geographical spaces, forming a strategy of "spatial drift":(1) Ancestral place: Chayuan Village, Dongguan, Guangdong (unrecorded in the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong* and Dongguan local gazetteers);(2) Place of office: Quanzhou and Jingjiang Prefecture (unrecorded in the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer*, and *Quanzhou Gazetteer*);(3) Major battle locations: Changsha and Guangzhou (unrecorded in the *Changsha Prefecture Gazetteer* and *Guangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*);(4) Intermediate area of activity: Cangwu (unrecorded in the *Cangwu County Gazetteer* and *Wuzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*);(5) Final place of retirement and death: Yulin (unrecorded in the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*).

The strategic value of this multi-point arrangement lies in the fact that whenever researchers question one location, the narrative can redirect attention toward another. For example:(1) If scholars from Dongguan raise doubts, the response can be that "the principal deeds occurred in Guangxi";(2) If scholars from Quanzhou raise doubts, the response can be that "his ancestral home was in Dongguan, while his activities spanned three provinces: Guangdong, Hunan, and Guangxi";(3) If scholars from Guangzhou raise doubts, the response can be that "Guangzhou was merely a transit point, while the principal activities occurred in

Guangxi";(4) If scholars from Yulin raise doubts, the response can be that "he merely retired there, while his earlier activities took place elsewhere."

The conflation of these five locations created a barrier of verification costs, making it impossible for single-point refutation to achieve a comprehensive rejection of the narrative. Moreover, before the development of modern systems of documentary organization and information retrieval, local documentary sources were geographically dispersed, preserved in separate regional and institutional collections, and limited in accessibility across regions. Cross-regional verification of a person's place of origin, official career, sphere of activity, and institutional information therefore involved substantial information-search costs, thereby further reinforcing the opacity and persistence of spatially drifting narratives. The central function of spatial drift is to serve as a mechanism that prevents single-point refutation from undermining the entire narrative. Refutation of any individual location can challenge only a partial aspect of the narrative and cannot deliver a decisive blow to the narrative as a whole. This distributed protection mechanism represents the strategic sophistication of ambiguous narratives.

5.6.4 Psychological Mechanism: How Fuzzy Narratives Induce "Natural Misunderstandings" Among Audiences

The ambiguity strategy operates through the principle of "information gaps." When a text provides sufficient historical background while omitting the protagonist's concrete actions, readers will automatically project the protagonist into the historical setting and assume participation in the relevant events. For example, the text states: "The Yuan forces showed signs of advancing directly into Guangxi, and Deng summoned the gentleman to Guilin to discuss resistance against the Yuan." Readers will naturally infer that Zhong Yiwan participated in anti-Yuan planning. Yet the text never explicitly states which battle he

commanded or what military achievements he obtained. Readers themselves mentally fill these narrative gaps.

In Ming–Qing lineage competition, the crucial factor in "ancestral capital" was not factual detail, but symbolic status and moral designation. The designation of "a loyal anti-Yuan official" alone was sufficient to secure moral prestige, ritual legitimacy, and influence over local resource distribution within local society. Whether the specific details could withstand verification was secondary, because:(1) lineage communities did not require verification of details, only collective acceptance;(2) external society faced great difficulty in verifying cross-regional details;(3) once a moral designation became established, it was extremely difficult to overturn. Accordingly, fuzzy narrative strategies perfectly satisfied lineage needs: they provided a prestigious moral designation while simultaneously avoiding the risks associated with detailed historical verification.

6. Dissemination Mechanisms of Constructed Historical Narratives and the Social Function of "Ancestral Capital"

6.1 Mechanisms of Diffusion and Consolidation within the Narrative Transmission Chain

Chapter 5 reveals the textual mechanisms underlying the construction of the Zhong Yiwan narrative—namely the assemblage of source materials, the targeted revision of successive versions, and ambiguity strategies—all of which operate at the level of narrative technique. This section shifts the analytical perspective from the internal textual mechanisms of narrative construction to the external social conditions that enabled the narrative's circulation and public recognition. It addresses two interrelated questions: first, how could a constructed narrative lacking any evidentiary support at the institutional level and systematically absent from the documentary record nonetheless achieve sustained dissemination and public

recognition? Second, compared with the mechanisms of consolidation of traditional lineage narratives described by He Xi and other scholars, what new structural features characterize the pathways of diffusion and consolidation of this narrative in the contemporary context?

I. Dissemination Pathways: Chain-like Transformation from Private-Domain Texts to Bidirectional Institutional–Media Consolidation

The contemporary dissemination of the Zhong Yiwan narrative does not follow a simple linear diffusion pattern. Rather, it has undergone a chain-like transformation characterized by successive upward shifts in the levels of authenticating actors and the mutual locking of adjacent nodes. This process can be analyzed in three tiers.

Tier One: Initial Construction within the Lineage's Private Domain

The genealogies, the *Mubiao*, cemetery records, and the Daoguang-period tombstone constitute the original carriers of the narrative. At this level, the narrative is produced and consumed within the lineage, serving to consolidate lineage identity and construct ancestral prestige, while lacking verifiability in the public historical record. The construction traces identified in Chapter 5—such as the assemblage of official titles, spatiotemporal dislocation, and pseudo-attribution through forged authority—are concentrated at this level.

Tier Two: Official Consolidation through Administrative and Gazetteer Systems

The inclusion of the "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si" in the cultural heritage overview table of the 1993 edition of the *Yulin City Gazetteer*, and the designation of the Zhong Yiwan Cemetery as a Yulin Municipal Cultural Heritage Protection Unit in 1996, constitute key nodes in the transition from the private domain to the public domain. A shared feature of these two steps is that neither involved an independent academic review of historical authenticity. The gazetteer compilation treated genealogical materials as equivalent to official records, while the cultural heritage designation relied on the "official titles" recorded in genealogies and *Mubiao* as the basis for heritage value. The institutional errors

embedded in the initial construction—the spurious circuit designation “Quanzhou Lu,” the erroneous official title “Tixingshi Si,” and the chronological paradox concerning Chen Lian—thus received their first layer of retroactive administrative ratification.

These two nodes occurred prior to the age of internet dissemination, producing a preemptive locking effect. Subsequent disseminators no longer confronted a “lineage memory awaiting verification,” but an “officially confirmed historical fact,” with its cognitive premises already shaped by administrative recognition.

Tier Three: Diffusion and Re-consolidation through Official Media and Online Platforms

Reports on the Yulin CPPCC website, the Yulin News Network, and Baidu Baike entries all conducted secondary dissemination based on the administrative recognition of Tier Two as authoritative sources. For example: (1) On February 28, 2017, the official website of the Yulin CPPCC published “*Deng Deyu, a Loyal General of the Southern Song dynasty: The Zhonggong Shrine Was Built Because of Him, and Zhonggong Lane Was Named After Him,*” signed “Anonymous,” sourced from the Yulin CPPCC; the article largely endorsed the constructed narrative of Zhong Yiwan. (2) On January 8, 2018, the Yulin News Network (Yulin Daily) published “*The Zhong Family of Yulin: Loyalty and Righteousness with Enduring Reputation*,” authored by “Zhong Dandan,” evidently a descendant of the Zhong lineage.

In addition, Baidu Baike entries for “Deng Deyu” were modified to insert Zhong Yiwan, including the fabricated claim that “in the fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1371), the Zhonggong Shrine was built on the banks of the Nanliu River, where Deng Deyu, Chen Ying, and Zhong Yiwan were jointly enshrined; during the Daoguang reign, the shrine was relocated to Zhonggong Lane.” This online content is inconsistent with historical records: Zhong Yiwan was never included in the enshrined list of the Zhonggong Shrine. During the

Qianlong period, only Deng Deyu and Chen Ying were enshrined; in the reconstruction of the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign, Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan were added, not Zhong Yiwan.

Critically, some disseminators identified contradictions in the original narrative and revised them accordingly. The Baidu Baike entry changed the date of Chen Lian's *Mubiao* composition from 1376 to 1396, while the CPPCC report added a career chain for Zhong Yiwan ("Bu Dian Guan → Tixing Zhishi → Guangxi Tidian Xingyu," see Section 5.1). However, these revisions were all carried out within the framework of "official confirmation," aimed at enhancing credibility rather than questioning authenticity.

More importantly, Tier Three dissemination produced a reverse consolidation effect: each platform added institutional credibility to the narrative, forming a bidirectional loop of "administrative recognition → media dissemination → media endorsement reinforcing administrative legitimacy." This creates a structural difficulty for single-point correction: refuting earlier nodes does not interrupt later circulation, while correcting later nodes leaves earlier administrative recognition intact as an authoritative basis.

II. Mechanism Characteristics: Three Structural Differences of Administratively Recognized Consolidation

Compared with the traditional "ritual-based consolidation" described by He Xi—which relies on ancestral hall sacrifices, genealogies, or stele inscriptions and gradually accumulates over many generations and centuries—the contemporary consolidation of the Zhong Yiwan narrative exhibits three structural differences.

First: Compression of speed

From the private domain of lineage genealogies to cultural heritage designation took only several decades; from gazetteer inclusion to online dissemination took only a few years. The generational time scale required for traditional ritual-based consolidation has been

significantly compressed, and the narrative entered and became fixed in the public domain before undergoing sufficient scholarly scrutiny.

Second: The paradox of traceability

Across five nodes—genealogies, gazetteers, cultural heritage archives, encyclopedia entries (Baidu Baike entries), and official reports—there are clearly identifiable traces of textual revision. This makes the layered construction process of the narrative for the first time a precisely traceable object of study, providing a complete evidentiary chain for refutation research.

However, this "traceability" contains an internal paradox: each revision, while leaving evidence for refutation, simultaneously adds a new layer of version legitimacy to the narrative. The longer the chain of versions, the more the narrative appears to possess a transmission lineage and evolutionary trajectory.

Third: The endorsement loop

Cultural heritage designation, gazetteer compilation, and official media dissemination do not operate in a linear sequence but rather reinforce each other in a recursive manner: cultural heritage designation cites "gazetteer records" to enhance its authority, gazetteers rely on "cultural heritage designation" to justify inclusion, and media reports cite both gazetteers and heritage listings to claim objectivity.

This self-referential structure—"A validates B, B validates C, C validates A"—produces multiple layers of institutional endorsement for each node and renders corrective intervention impossible through any single point.

III. Theoretical Refinement: Morphological Transformation of Symbolic Capital and Structural Accumulation of Resistance to Refutation

The mechanisms above suggest an extension of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital: the credibility of ancestral capital can increase independently of factual accuracy. It depends

instead on the accumulation of endorsing institutions and the recursive citation among nodes in the certification chain.

When lineage narratives move beyond the private domain and enter systems such as gazetteer compilation, cultural heritage designation, and official media dissemination, they undergo a transformation from "private textual capital" to "institutional symbolic capital." This transformation is not merely an expansion of dissemination scope, but a qualitative change in the nature of capital itself.

Each additional layer of institutional endorsement attaches the credibility of the endorsing institution to the narrative, while simultaneously raising the threshold required for correction. Correction no longer means merely negating a lineage memory; it requires institutional actors—gazetteer compilers, cultural heritage authorities, and even official media—to acknowledge deficiencies in their own certification processes. The more layers of endorsement, the higher the cost of correction.

Once a narrative acquires sufficient institutional endorsement, its "truthfulness" is transformed from a refutable empirical proposition into a socially institutionalized fact. The latter functionally replaces the former and may even obscure it cognitively: the public no longer asks "is this true?" but assumes "it has already been confirmed."

This is the central paradox of institutionalized symbolic capital: the more institutional endorsements it accumulates, the more credible the narrative appears, while historical truth becomes increasingly difficult to penetrate the institutional structure.

In the present case, the designation of the Zhong Yiwan Cemetery as a cultural heritage protection unit, its inclusion in the *Yulin City Gazetteer*, and media reports from the Yulin News Network and the Yulin CPPCC website constitute successive nodes in this chain-like process.

If the reconstruction of the Zhonggong Shrine discussed in Section 6.2 is implemented, the narrative would enter the official ritual system, acquiring both institutional and symbolic reinforcement. At that point, scholarly refutation would face institutional, emotional, and cognitive resistance simultaneously, and the cost of correction would shift from “manageable” to “unmanageable.” This is the fundamental reason why early-stage intervention is considered strategically necessary in this study.

6.2 Academic Observations and Institutional Reflections on the Proposal to “Jointly Rebuild the Zhonggong Shrine”

It is worth noting that the Yulin CPPCC website reported: “...According to Zhong Shuyuan, Secretary-General of the Yulin Zhong Clan Association, the Zhong Clan Association plans to join with the Chen Clan Association and the Deng Clan Association to jointly rebuild the Zhonggong Shrine (忠功祠)...”

I. The Zhonggong Shrine: An Authoritative Anchor of “Historical Authenticity,” “Institutional Legitimacy,” and “Orthodoxy”

To understand the contemporary consolidation mechanism of the Zhong Yiwan narrative, it is first necessary to clarify the nature of its ultimate symbolic anchor—the Zhonggong Shrine. The Zhonggong Shrine was not an ordinary local shrine, but rather a comprehensive official institution integrating institutional authority, documentary endorsement, and social symbolism. It functioned as the highest authoritative institution validating anti-Yuan narratives in the Yulin region during the late Song period.

From the perspective of institutional history, the Zhonggong Shrine was established in the third year of the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty (1370). An official commemorative stele was erected by Zhao Tianjian, prefect of Yulin Prefecture, as part of the Ming dynasty’s early state commendation system. The inscription explicitly stated that its purpose was “to serve as an exhortation to officials of later generations,” reflecting the institutional

significance of the Ming court's effort to legitimize dynastic orthodoxy through the commemoration of loyal officials of the preceding dynasty. During the Daoguang-period reconstruction, the project was overseen by the educational commissioner Ding Shanqing, whose commemorative inscription explicitly emphasized that the Zhonggong Shrine was "not a private shrine of a single locality," but rather an officially sanctioned commemorative institution.

Throughout successive dynasties, inclusion in the shrine's commemorative roster required official documentary review. During the Daoguang period, the inclusion of Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan was based precisely on the explicit statement in the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* that they had "assisted Duke Chen in attempting to recapture the city, failed, and died in the process." This rigorous mechanism of documentary verification ensured that the commemorative roster of the Zhonggong Shrine simultaneously possessed both the institutional authority of state commendation and the evidentiary endorsement of official historical documentation.

In terms of social function, the Zhonggong Shrine performed multiple legitimizing functions within local society. First, it functioned as a certification of historical authenticity: inclusion in the official sacrificial roster signified public recognition by state authority of the historical authenticity of the individuals concerned. Second, it functioned as a certification of moral legitimacy: inclusion alongside officially commemorated loyalists within the state sacrificial system constituted the most effective means for clans to acquire the highest level of symbolic capital amid the intense social competition of South China. Third, it functioned as a certification of historical orthodoxy. In his research on southwestern Guangdong—a region geographically highly overlapping with Yulin—He Xi points out that "over long historical periods, local communities have used state ritual systems to construct orthodoxy,

often resulting in state rituals being superimposed upon local customs." [84].This mechanism is similarly reflected in the present case, in which "entry into the official sacrificial system" represented the ultimate objective of the process.

II. Once the nature of the target anchor point is clarified, the deeper driving logic of the Zhong lineage narrative becomes readily apparent: under the name of "joint reconstruction," it seeks to further embed the Constructed Historical Narrative into the Zhonggong Shrine, the highest local carrier of historical authenticity and institutional authority.

However, this process presents three institutional risks at the structural level.

First, there is the issue of determining sacrificial eligibility under the co-reconstruction model. The Zhonggong Shrine is an officially sanctioned sacrificial shrine, not "a private shrine belonging to a single locality," and therefore should not be reconstructed under the leadership of private groups. The Zhong lineage was not an original constituent body within the existing sacrificial system of the Zhonggong Shrine; nevertheless, media reports presented it alongside the Deng and Chen clans as a participant in the "joint reconstruction." Under conditions of informational asymmetry, if official authorities and existing participating parties fail to raise timely objections, once a newly added sacrificial figure enters the shared sacrificial structure, that party may subsequently acquire the status of a formally recognized participant in the sacrificial system, making later removal institutionally difficult.

Second, there is the potential risk arising from the absence of an academic review mechanism. When historical authentication is advanced in the name of folk cultural activity, existing scholarly review mechanisms related to historical administration, local gazetteer

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[84]He Xi (賀喜), *Yi shen yi zu: Yuexi nan xinyang goujian de shehui shi* (《亦神亦祖：粵西南信仰構建的社會史》, Ancestor and Deity: A Social History of the Construction of Religious Belief in Southwestern Guangdong), Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2011: 17.

compilation, and cultural heritage studies may not necessarily extend to such activities, thereby leaving arguments concerning historical authenticity without sufficient institutional safeguards. This phenomenon reflects a potential gap in the historiographical review process during the reconstruction of cultural heritage and deserves scholarly attention.

Third, there are issues concerning textual production and the hierarchy of historical materials after reconstruction. Reconstruction involves not merely physical restoration, but also the remaking of spirit tablets, the rewriting of sacrificial texts, and the addition of new inscriptions and explanatory plaques. Through newly added inscriptions or commemorative explanations, the Zhong lineage could continue to reinforce the Zhong Yiwan anti-Yuan narrative. Once newly carved stone inscriptions themselves become recognized as "cultural relics," later researchers may face the circular historiographical dilemma of "using the present to authenticate the past."

From the perspective of the construction of historical memory, this dynamic deserves close attention. Once a historical figure enters an official sacrificial system, the associated narrative often acquires institutional endorsement as well. Thirty years later, a new generation of local-history researchers may simply assume that "Zhong Yiwan was a loyalist officially included in the sacrificial roster of the Zhonggong Shrine," because all official texts—shrine explanations, cultural-heritage archives, *Yulin City Gazetteer*, Baidu Baike entries, and CPPCC reports—record the matter in this manner, while the original historical reality may face complete disappearance. Subsequent correction of historical narratives would therefore entail much higher social costs. This represents a general pattern observable when Constructed Historical Narratives enter the public discourse system.

Based on the academic findings of this study, if the relevant authorities consider it necessary, the following approaches may be taken as references from the perspective of institutional improvement and the establishment of scholarly norms:

(1) Establishing a multidisciplinary joint review mechanism. The findings of this study suggest that, in the authentication of cultural heritage involving historical figures, the establishment of a multidisciplinary joint review mechanism may help strengthen standards of historical authenticity.

(2) Clarifying the documentary standards for sacrificial rosters. The sacrificial roster should be based on multiple official primary sources, including the *History of Song*, the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi*, the *Yulin Zhou Gazetteer*, and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit*, rather than on genealogies, *Mubiao*, or oral accounts as newly introduced evidentiary bases.

(3) Exploring feasible mechanisms of prevention and correction. This study reveals that local historical narratives may gradually consolidate during long-term transmission through multiple reinforcing factors and may eventually become institutionally embedded. In the long run, more robust preventive and corrective mechanisms may therefore be explored. For example, when new major historical materials emerge or significant academic controversies arise within public historical narratives, regularized procedures of review and revision could be established, enabling public historical texts to undergo dynamic updating in accordance with advances in scholarly research. The core purpose of such a mechanism would be to enhance the self-corrective capacity of historical dissemination, rather than to assign responsibility to specific individuals or groups.

(4) The issue of historical authenticity in the recognition of cultural-heritage sites associated with historical figures' cemeteries. The findings of this study suggest that the Zhong Yiwan anti-Yuan narrative is neither a merely doubtful historical account nor a simple folk legend; rather, it constitutes a systematic narrative constructed by the Zhong lineage through long-term and dynamic textual practices—ranging from the pseudo-attribution of a *Mubiao* to Chen Lian and the ritual transgression involved in constructing stone statuary, to the incremental embedding of the lineage's internal narrative into the public discourse system

through successive amplification by modern media platforms. The distinctive feature of this process lies in the fact that it has already transcended the private sphere of conventional genealogical memory and obtained institutional endorsement through public mechanisms such as cultural-heritage recognition and dissemination by officially affiliated media. From an academic perspective, the authentication of cultural heritage associated with historical figures ought to withstand rigorous documentary scrutiny. The refutational findings presented in this study may therefore provide a reference for related scholarly discussions.

(5) The issue of source criticism in the dissemination of local historical culture. This study observes that certain local media platforms, without rigorous verification of historical facts, incorporated historical narratives based on lineage genealogies into public dissemination, thereby objectively accelerating the consolidation and spread of related narratives. From the academic perspective of the production and dissemination of historical knowledge, strengthening awareness of source criticism in local historical writing and establishing necessary mechanisms for factual verification constitute important issues in the standardization of local historical research. How to ensure the basic accuracy of historical knowledge in public dissemination while respecting local cultural identity is a question deserving joint discussion among scholars, media practitioners, and local historical workers.

6.3 The Sociohistorical Conditions and Operational Mechanisms through Which Ming–Qing Clans Produced “Ancestral Capital”

The first five chapters of this study have systematically demonstrated the historical untenability of the Zhong Yiwan narrative through four analytical dimensions—institutional history, philology, spatiotemporal logic, and textual analysis. On this basis, it becomes necessary to consider a sociohistorical question no less important than the refutation conclusion itself: what underlying structural forces enabled such a constructed narrative to be generated and consolidated within society? Addressing this question is not merely an attempt

to provide a sociohistorical explanation for a specific case, but also a necessary step in embedding the findings of this study within the broader theoretical framework of South China social history.

(I) Analytical Framework: From “Symbolic Capital” to “Ancestral Capital”

Pierre Bourdieu defines “symbolic capital” as forms of prestige and authority recognized as legitimate within a specific social field. Its central function is to legitimize other forms of capital, including economic capital and social capital, thereby providing symbolic grounds through collective recognition for the possession and intergenerational transmission of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The value of symbolic capital is determined by the logic of recognition operating within a particular field and may be converted into political and social capital within that field.

Applying this framework to the lineage society of Ming–Qing China requires a critical process of localization. Within the specific social field of South China lineage society, the prestige embodied by “loyal and righteous ancestors” constituted precisely such a form of symbolic capital. Unlike the model of individual accumulation emphasized in Bourdieu’s original formulation, symbolic capital in the Chinese lineage context required validation through a threefold mechanism: textual stabilization (genealogies and inscriptions), ritual practice (ancestral-hall sacrifices and official commendations), and institutional recognition (official registration systems and cultural heritage protection systems). Only through these mechanisms could such symbolic capital obtain social legitimacy and preserve and expand its value across generations. This study refers to this lineage-specific form of symbolic capital as “ancestral capital”: through constructing particular ancestral narratives, lineages transformed historically scarce moral authority—such as that embodied by lu-level supervisory commissioners who resisted the Yuan in the late Song period—into sustainable resources of legitimacy deployable in local social competition.

More specifically, ancestral capital comprises at least three interrelated dimensions.

First, the symbolic dimension. Ancestral capital is primarily manifested through the possession of moral and institutional symbols that enjoy a high degree of social recognition, such as loyalty, scholarly distinction, and official rank. In traditional society, these symbols possessed a high degree of social commensurability. They served not only as resources for lineage identity formation and moral education, but also as symbols of prestige within local society. The Zhong Yiwan narrative repeatedly emphasizes themes such as "seventeen years of military service," "the non-use of Yuan reign titles," and "fields may be cultivated but not abandoned; books may be read but not used for the examinations." These elements constitute typical narrative strategies through which ancestral symbolic prestige is accumulated by constructing an image of loyalist integrity and moral steadfastness.

Second, the institutional dimension. Ancestral capital does not remain merely a form of cultural memory confined within the lineage. Rather, it acquires external legitimacy through incorporation into public institutional systems. For example, ancestral deeds may be recorded in local gazetteers, inscriptions, or literary collections, or be incorporated into official systems of commendation, thereby obtaining institutional recognition of lineage prestige. This process distinguishes ancestral capital from ordinary "family honor." The latter primarily exists within the sphere of internal lineage identity, whereas the former is capable of exercising broader social functions in interactions between lineages and the state, as well as between lineages and local society. The Zhong Yiwan Cemetery was listed in 1996 as a Yulin Municipal Cultural Heritage Protection Unit because its designation rationale was interpreted through the narrative of the so-called "Nan Song Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si," thereby exemplifying the institutional consolidation of ancestral narratives within a modern administrative framework.

Third, the competitive dimension. Within the lineage-dominated local social structure of the Ming and Qing periods, ancestral capital also functioned as an important instrument through which lineages competed for social resources. Opportunities in the civil service examinations, rights to land, eligibility for ancestral rites, and even discursive authority within local society were often closely associated with a lineage's historical prestige. Consequently, the construction of ancestral narratives featuring loyalist credentials or distinguished official backgrounds was not merely an activity of cultural remembrance, but also a socially strategic practice oriented toward tangible interests. By constructing the historical image of "loyal and righteous ancestors," lineages could acquire moral legitimacy and symbolic advantages within local social competition.

To understand this mechanism, it is first necessary to clarify the relationship between the concept of "ancestral capital" employed in this study and four existing bodies of scholarship, each of which provides direct interpretive tools for the present case from different analytical levels.

First, one of the recurring narrative patterns found in southern Chinese lineage genealogies is the paradigm of "Central Plains official lineage → southward migration during warfare → local settlement and descent," a pattern long documented by scholarship.[85]The core structure of this paradigm is as follows: the ancestor originated from the Central Plains, possessed an official pedigree (such as Chengxuanshi, Taishou, Dujian, Cishi, Tixing, Tuiguan, and Sanqilang), migrated southward repeatedly in response to successive periods of warfare (the Upheaval of the Five Barbarians, the Huang Chao Rebellion, the Song–Yuan dynastic transition, and so forth), and eventually settled locally and became the founding ancestor of the lineage. The Zhong Yiwan narrative represents a complete application of this

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[85]Luo Xianglin (羅香林), *Kejia yuanliu kao* (《客家源流考》, A Study on the Origins of the Hakka People), Beijing: China Overseas Chinese Publishing Company, 1989, chs. 1–3. Luo Xianglin (羅香林), *Kejia yanjiu daolun* (《客家研究導論》, Introduction to Hakka Studies), Xishan shuzang (1933), chs. 1–2.

paradigm: the ancestor was said to have “originally come from Chayuan Village, Dongguan, Guangdong,” to have served as “Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi,” to have moved successively through Cangwu, Guangzhou, and Yulin during the turmoil of the Song–Yuan transition, and finally to have “retired into seclusion in Yulin,” thereby becoming “the founding ancestor of the Zhong lineage across the five subordinate jurisdictions of Yulin.” Chapter 2 of this study has already demonstrated through institutional analysis that the office title “Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi” lacks evidentiary support within the existing institutional and documentary framework of the Song dynasty. Chapter 3’s examination of examination records and documentary sources further confirms that Zhong Yiwan possessed neither a jinshi degree nor any officially recorded office or title. Yet this refuted office title constituted precisely the central symbolic resource of the entire narrative. Precisely because lu-level judicial and supervisory offices carried the strongest capacity for symbolic prestige within the competitive field of Ming–Qing lineage society, the narrative constructors elevated such an office into the structural pillar of the entire narrative. Its institutional untenability did not weaken the symbolic function of the narrative; rather, it reveals in reverse the deep structuring force exerted by the demand for symbolic-capital accumulation upon the direction of narrative construction.

Secondly, genealogical historical narratives are primarily “a means of addressing the needs of contemporary society.”[86]telling stories about the past while “projecting the social and historical realities of the time”[87] through those narratives. The construction of ancestral genealogies by Ming–Qing clans therefore possessed clear practical objectives: “to prove that their ancestors came from the Central Plains and were not indigenous inhabitants; to prove

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[86]Liu Zhiwei (劉志偉), *Zai guojia yu shehui zhijian: Ming Qing Guangdong hukou fuyi zhidu yu xiangcun shehui* (《在國家與社會之間：明清廣東戶籍賦役制度與鄉村社會》, Between State and Society: Household Registration and Tax System and Rural Society in Ming and Qing Guangdong), Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2010: 236.
[87]Ibid.: 255.

that their ancestors had always lived on land and were not Tanka people; and to prove that they possessed legitimate household-registration origins."[88] From this perspective, the pseudo-attribution of the *Mubiao* to Chen Lian, as revealed in Section 5.4 of this study, was essentially an attempt to appropriate the cultural authority of Chen Lian—a Confucian instructor of Guilin Prefecture and a prominent literary figure in Lingnan—in order to provide the lineage's historical narrative with external endorsement from the Han literati cultural sphere. This is precisely a direct manifestation of narrative construction driven by "the needs of contemporary society" (namely, enhancing the lineage's cultural legitimacy within local social competition). Furthermore, the genealogy explicitly records that "the Zhong lineage of Yulin did not enter official service during the Yuan dynasty, and only after the Ming dynasty did its members attain success in the civil examinations and enter officialdom." The internal logic of this statement likewise conforms to the mechanism described above: the "loyalist integrity" of the ancestors was constructed as the spiritual capital underlying the lineage's rise during the Ming dynasty, while the historical prestige of "loyalty and righteousness at the end of the Song dynasty" provided a moral foundation for the lineage's actual status achieved through civil examination success during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Thirdly, during the Ming and Qing dynasties, clans in South China adopted state-recognized ritual forms, to the extent that "even poor families later followed them in exact accordance." By embedding their lineage organizations into the dynastic system, they thereby acquired institutional orthodoxy. As David Faure observes, "the lineage was precisely such a product of the integration of local society and the state."[89]Within the competitive landscape of densely established lineages in local society, ancestral narratives claiming official,

[88]Ibid.: 255.

[89]David Faure (科大衛), *Huangdi he zuzong: Hua'nan de guojia yu zongzu* (《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》, Emperors and Ancestors: State and Lineage in South China), Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2010: 20.

aristocratic, or gentry backgrounds were "ubiquitous"[90]—for example, claims that one's ancestors had married imperial princesses of the Song dynasty, descended from famous Southern Song officials, or originated from Tang-dynasty zhuangyuan (metropolitan examination champions). Such narratives were ultimately attempts to appropriate historical institutional authority in order to secure ritual orthodoxy for the lineage's real-world interests in land control, resource competition, and social status. The Zhong Yiwan narrative revealed through the present refutation is precisely a concrete manifestation of this South China lineage-building convention. The constructors' choice of the official title "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi," together with their embedding of Zhong Yiwan into the relational network of historically attested figures such as Deng Deyu and Xiong Fei—both recorded in the *History of Song*—(namely, the seven layers of "authority borrowing" revealed in Section 5.2), constitutes a precise application of this competitive logic of ritual orthodoxy.

Fourth, the cultural-structural driving force of historical memory and the "heroic-ancestor historical mentality" in genealogical narratives. In *Chinese Borderlands: Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity*, Wang Mingke proposes that there exists a historical-narrative cultural structure centered upon a "heroic-ancestor historical mentality." This mentality "emerges within societies that expand outward in pursuit of resources while internally allocating resources hierarchically through centralized political power," [91]thereby causing people, often unconsciously, to generate historical memories exhibiting similar patterns in order to consolidate the social realities of a particular human ecology. Under the dominance of this mentality, genealogies "often forget certain ancestors while especially remembering or emphasizing others, or appropriating and attaching themselves to the ancestors of other

[90]Ibid.: 77, and related discussion in Chapter 6.
[91]Wang Mingke (王明珂), *Huaxia bianyuan: Lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong* (《華夏邊緣：歷史記憶與族群認同》, Chinese Borderlands: Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity), Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2020: 13, 38.

groups, or even creating an ancestor."[92]This observation not only constitutes a precise summary of the selective writing logic of lineage genealogies, but also provides a deep cultural-structural explanation for the "authority-borrowing" mechanism revealed in this study. The reason why the Zhong Yiwan narrative exhibits such a highly patterned constructional path—namely, "the assemblage of official titles, the grafting of loyalist righteousness, and the pseudo-attribution of authority" (see Section 5.2 for the seven layers of "authority-borrowing" traces)—is therefore not the product of an accidental individual fabrication. Rather, it represents the structural operation of the "heroic-ancestor historical mentality" within the competitive lineage arena of Ming–Qing South China. The combination of a founding ancestor presented as a lu-level supervisory official, narratives of loyalist righteousness during the Song–Yuan dynastic transition, and the story of a Central Plains official lineage migrating southward and settling locally corresponds precisely to the "heroic ancestor" narrative template prescribed by this historical mentality. It should be emphasized, however, that Wang Mingke's analytical framework primarily seeks to explain the cultural-structural reasons why such constructions naturally emerge; it does not provide an empirical path for demonstrating that a particular narrative definitively did not exist. The latter depends upon the independent arguments developed in Chapters 2 through 4 of this study, and cultural-structural explanation cannot replace the rigid refutation grounded in institutional history and philological analysis.

Based on the mutual corroboration of the above four lines of research, the concept of "ancestral capital" proposed in this study integrates the four dimensions discussed above—the patterning of narrative paradigms, the realistic orientation of narrative instrumentality, the institutional logic of ritual competition, and the cultural-structural driving force of historical narratives—within Bourdieu's theoretical framework of symbolic capital, thereby forming a

[92]Ibid.: 67.

unified analytical tool. This framework can explain both "according to what paradigm this narrative was constructed" and "why such construction possessed sustained productive force within the lineage society of South China during the Ming and Qing dynasties."

The following discussion proceeds from three structural conditions in order to explain the historical soil from which the Zhong Yiwan narrative emerged, and then examines five operational modes in order to reveal the concrete logic of its construction mechanism. Each layer of analysis is directly grounded in the refutation materials already established in this study.

(II) Three Structural Conditions: The Historical Soil of Construction

Condition One: The Competitive Structure of the Civil Examination System and the Substitutive Function of Loyal and Righteous Ancestors. The comprehensive establishment of the civil examination system during the Ming dynasty made "gongming" the most important institutional basis of lineage social status. However, under the intensely competitive structure of "yuan duo que shao" ("more candidates than available positions"), most lineages could not sustainably rely upon contemporary examination success in order to maintain local influence. Under such conditions, constructing narratives of highly recognized loyal and righteous ancestors became an alternative strategy through which lineages accumulated symbolic capital. The Zhong Yiwan narrative provides direct evidence of this logic. The genealogy explicitly records that "the Zhong lineage of Yulin did not enter official service during the Yuan dynasty, and only after the Ming dynasty did it achieve major civil examination success and enter office." This statement constructs the ancestors' "yimin moral integrity" as the spiritual capital underlying the lineage's rise during the Ming dynasty. Its internal logic is as follows: by using the Yuan-period stance of "refusing official service" as a form of moral preparation, the historical prestige of a "founding ancestor who was a lu-level supervisory official" is transformed into a narrative basis legitimizing the lineage's later entry

into officialdom through the civil examinations during the Ming dynasty, thereby completing the intergenerational transmission of ancestral capital from “loyalty and righteousness at the end of the Song dynasty” to “civil examination success during the Ming and Qing dynasties.” The Song-dynasty institutional background of “yuan duo que shao” cited in Section 2.4 of this study precisely confirms, from the opposite direction, the intensity of this competitive structure. It was precisely under the real pressure of an extremely overcrowded examination path that constructing an ancestor who served as a lu-level supervisory official became the most cost-effective substitute strategy for accumulating ancestral capital.

Condition Two: The Special Position of Song–Yuan Dynastic Transition Narratives within Ming Official Ideology. The official ideology of the Ming dynasty centered upon the expulsion of the Mongol Yuan and the restoration of Han Chinese rule. During the early Ming period, the state established an institutional commendation system that honored loyal and righteous figures of the preceding dynasty through commemorative institutions such as the Zhonggong Shrine. As discussed in Section 3.2 of this study, the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑) erected in 1370 by Zhao Tianjian, prefect of Yulin, was a direct product of this official commendation mechanism. Its commemorative purpose was explicitly stated as “to serve as an exhortation to future officials.” Within this ideological environment, entering the narrative system of anti-Yuan loyalty and righteousness associated with the final years of the Southern Song meant obtaining an institutional channel through which local recognition could be elevated into official recognition. As Bourdieu noted, the value of symbolic capital is determined by the logic of recognition within a particular field. Within the cultural field of the Ming dynasty, the symbolic capital associated with “anti-Yuan loyalty and righteousness” received endorsement from the highest political authority, thereby possessing the strongest potential for transformation into political and social capital. The Zhong Yiwan narrative precisely positioned its ancestor as a Guangxi lu-level supervisory official, a collaborator of

Deng Deyu, and a Deyou-period yimin. The precision of this symbolic positioning reflects the constructors' acute awareness of the logic of recognition operating within this ideological field. This also explains the internal pressure compelling the constructors to connect the narrative with historically documented figures such as Deng Deyu and Xiong Fei. It was precisely this necessity that planted the structural loopholes later exposed through the seven layers of "borrowing light" identified in Section 5.2 and the spatiotemporal deadlocks demonstrated in Chapter 4.

Condition Three: Historical Differences in Information Verification Costs and the Narrative Window of Opportunity. Following the dramatic social upheavals surrounding the Yuan–Ming transition, many late Song archives were lost, eyewitnesses had already passed away, and local memory became increasingly fragmented. This objective informational vacuum historically created a window of opportunity for lineage narrative construction: by implanting narratives before a relatively complete documentary system had formed, constructed narratives could penetrate local memory through the temporal advantage of prior insertion. The Zhong Yiwan narrative's exploitation of this opportunity is concentrated in the systematic ambiguity strategy revealed in Section 5.6 of this study. Its "five-location fusion" structure—ancestral origins in Dongguan, official service in Quanzhou, military activity in Changsha, assistance to Xiong in Guangzhou, and retirement in Yulin—ensured that verification of any single location could not achieve total negation of the narrative. Likewise, the use of generalized dates obscured verifiable chronological nodes, making temporal verification difficult to anchor. However, the refutation results of this study demonstrate that the constructors made a critical misjudgment regarding the extent of the informational vacuum. The gazetteer compilation systems spanning Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hunan were far more rigorous than anticipated. The combined examination of thirteen independent documentary systems across seven genres—including official histories, inscriptions,

provincial gazetteers, prefectural gazetteers, departmental gazetteers, county gazetteers, and personal literary collections—completely invalidated the distributed protective strategy of "five-location fusion." Indeed, the overlapping absence of records across all five locations constitutes structural exclusionary evidence even more persuasive than any single omission alone, as demonstrated in Section 3.9 of this study.

(III) Five Operational Modes: The Concrete Mechanisms of Ancestral Capital Production

Under the structural conditions discussed above, lineages generally produced ancestral capital through several recurrent narrative strategies. Combining previous scholarship with the case analysis of this study, these strategies may be summarized into five principal modes.

Mode One: Office Appropriation. By constructing relatively high-ranking official titles for ancestors, lineage narratives obtained the symbolic endorsement of institutional authority. The titles constructed within the Zhong Yiwan narrative—"Tixing Quanzhou Xingyu" and "Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi"—precisely exploit the institutional authority associated with lu-level supervisory officials in order to provide symbolic legitimacy for the lineage's historical status.

Mode Two: Loyalty Grafting. This strategy embeds ancestors within officially recognized narratives of loyalty and righteousness, thereby borrowing legitimacy through association with real historical figures. Zhong Yiwan's insertion into the anti-Yuan narrative framework surrounding Deng Deyu belongs precisely to this category.

Mode Three: Spurious Attribution. This involves composing *Mubiao* or commemorative texts under the names of well-known scholars or officials, thereby appropriating their cultural authority in order to endorse ancestral narratives. The pseudo-attribution of the *Mubiao* to Chen Lian constitutes a typical example of this mode.

Mode Four: Ritual Construction (禮制建構). This strategy involves appropriating symbolic resources associated with high-status funerary ritual forms and incorporating ritual installations and symbolic objects conveying elevated status into the construction of the ancestral cemetery, thereby conferring upon ancestral identity a visible and materialized representation of authority. According to the Zhong lineage genealogy (see Appendix C), during the fourth major renovation of Zhong Yiwan's cemetery in the twenty-first year of the Daoguang reign (1841)—more than five centuries after the late-Song activities claimed in the narrative—the family installed one pair each of stone human figures, stone horses, and stone lions before the tomb, and recorded that these were placed "under imperial command" (奉敕命) in accordance with ritual regulations. Through this deployment of high-status funerary ritual elements, the lineage sought to transform an ancestral identity lacking institutional grounding into visible, tangible, and transmissible material evidence. This strategy of materializing narrative legitimacy through ritual symbols and thereby reinforcing the perceived authenticity of the historical narrative, together with office appropriation, loyalty grafting, spurious attribution, and institutional entrenchment, constitutes a key operational mode in the production of ancestral capital.

Mode Five: Institutional Entrenchment. Once a narrative enters the public institutional sphere through gazetteer inclusion, cultural heritage designation, or dissemination by officially affiliated media, its historical status acquires institutional endorsement, thereby generating a form of dissemination inertia that becomes extremely difficult to reverse.

(IV) Conclusion: The Typicality of the Case and Its Methodological Significance

The Zhong Yiwan narrative is by no means an accidental act of individual fabrication. Rather, it constitutes a concrete example of the widespread social practice through which local lineages during the Ming and Qing dynasties accumulated ancestral capital through genealogical narrative construction under specific geographical and historical conditions. The

three structural conditions and five operational modes discussed above together form an analytical framework for understanding the entire process through which this narrative was generated, disseminated, and consolidated. Moreover, every component of this framework is not an abstract mechanistic description, but is directly anchored in the concrete evidentiary materials revealed through the institutional investigation (Chapter 2), documentary examination (Chapter 3), spatiotemporal analysis (Chapter 4), and textual analysis (Chapter 5) completed in this study.

From a methodological perspective, the typicality of the Zhong Yiwan narrative lies in the fact that it simultaneously exhibits: the institutional error associated with office appropriation (rigidly negatable through R1), the self-collapse of externally borrowed authority through spurious attribution (independently refutable through R2), and the deadlocked contradictions of its spatiotemporal coordinates (rigidly negatable through R3).These three mutually independent paths of rigid negation simultaneously converge within a single case, giving the argument for "Definitive Rejection" a robustness far exceeding that of ordinary challenges based upon isolated pieces of evidence. The typical significance of this case lies in the fact that it transforms a concrete and refutable genealogical construction narrative into an epistemological node for testing and supplementing existing theoretical frameworks within South China social history. While revealing the general mechanisms through which Ming–Qing lineages constructed ancestral capital, it also establishes a mutually verifiable dual-track structure linking macro-level social-historical interpretation with concrete historical evidential research through the key negating functions of institutional history and philology.

Theoretically, the core value of this study lies in proposing an explanatory mechanism grounded in historical evidence: constructed narratives generate ancestral capital, and ancestral capital, through institutional legitimation, becomes an important symbolic resource

for lineages to participate in local social reproduction. “Constructed narrative” addresses how to construct such narratives, “ancestral capital” explains why they are constructed, and “institutional legitimation” reveals the qualitative transformation of ancestral capital from “private-domain narrative” to “publicly recognized authority” through hierarchical mechanisms such as state ritual systems, official historiography, and cultural heritage authentication. In South Chinese local society, state institutional recognition does not function as an external constraint on ancestral capital, but rather as a structural precondition for the expansion of its symbolic efficacy. Once lineage narratives are institutionally embedded, they are elevated from “questionable lineage memory” to “an unquestionable social fact,” whereby symbolic capital completes, in intergenerational transmission, a morphological transformation from internal lineage identity resources to external local competitive capital. This explanatory mechanism is both directly grounded in the empirical evidence of this case and is analytically applicable to studies of genealogical construction in similar contexts.

7. Conclusions and Methodological Contributions

7.1 Research Conclusions: Assessing the Historical Veracity of the Zhong Yiwan Narrative.

Drawing on the systematic analyses presented in the preceding chapters from the perspectives of institutional history, documentary criticism, spatiotemporal logic, and mechanisms of textual construction, this study argues that, based on the extant historical evidence, the narrative portraying Zhong Yiwan as a Judicial Intendant who resisted the Yuan cannot be substantiated as a historical account of the Song–Yuan period. Both its constituent elements and its developmental trajectory are more consistent with the cultural practice through which local society in South China constructed ancestral prestige by means of historical memory

during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The mechanism by which this lineage-based historical memory gradually evolved into a form of local public historical discourse has been systematically examined in Chapter 6.

This assessment does not rest upon any single piece of evidence. Rather, it represents a comprehensive historical judgment derived from the mutual corroboration of multiple independent lines of evidence. Evidence based on institutional norms, textual counter-evidence, and spatiotemporal logic each possesses independent evidentiary force and does not rely on the completeness of documentary preservation. By contrast, the persistent absence of records across multiple documentary systems and the identifiable traces of textual construction further strengthen the robustness of the overall judgment through inductive evidence. Although these different categories of evidence vary in their sources, logical characteristics, and analytical approaches, they corroborate one another and consistently point to the same conclusion, jointly supporting this study's assessment of the historical veracity of the Zhong Yiwan narrative.

The following section further examines the logical hierarchy, evidentiary force, and scope of applicability of these different categories of evidence. On this basis, it proposes a Seven-Dimensional Analytical Framework for Historical Narratives, with the aim of clarifying the internal logic and methodological significance of the comprehensive historical judgment presented above.

7.2 Methodological Contribution: The Development of a Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives

7.2.1 The Epistemological Positioning of the Framework: The Hybrid Argumentative Structure of Historical Narrative Refutation

In the course of conducting a systematic examination of the Zhong Yiwan narrative, this study gradually developed an operational and replicable instrument for critical analysis, namely the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives. Before formally introducing the structure and operational procedures of this framework, it is first necessary to clarify the epistemological foundations of historical narrative examination so as to avoid misunderstandings concerning the function of the framework.

The argument for the refutation of historical narratives is not logically homogeneous. Rather, it constitutes a hybrid argumentative structure composed of two fundamentally different categories of evidence.

The first category is deductive negation, namely rigid evidence possessing logical necessity. Once such evidence is established, the narrative under examination becomes untenable under the extant historical record. Its negating force requires neither the support nor the accumulation of additional evidence. It is self-contained, depending neither upon the completeness of documentary preservation nor upon any accumulation of external inductive evidence.

The second category is inductive negation, namely corroborative evidence supporting a negative conclusion through the convergence of multiple independent sources and empirical judgments based on comparative anomalies. Such evidence alone is insufficient to constitute a Definitive Rejection. However, when multiple independent sources consistently converge upon the same conclusion, their combined force may constitute strong empirical negation.

Clarifying this hybrid structure constitutes the epistemological foundation of the framework's design. The function of the framework is not to reduce heterogeneous forms of evidence to homogeneous numerical values and then aggregate them through linear summation. Rather, its purpose is to provide a systematic pathway of examination that reveals, at different analytical levels, the degree to which a historical narrative is exposed to these two categories of negating evidence. This positioning requires the framework to distinguish structurally between a Rigid Negation Layer and a Convergent Negation Layer, rather than treating fundamentally different forms of evidence through a single uniform scale. The pseudo-precision produced by assigning equal weight to deductive and inductive evidence is precisely the methodological approach that this framework is explicitly designed to reject.

7.2.2 Definition of the Seven Dimensions of Examination

The Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives comprises the following seven dimensions of examination, designated by the initials of their English names:

G (Geography): Geographical Space

This dimension examines whether all geographical locations referred to in the narrative—including the ancestral place, places of official appointment, principal areas of activity, and place of retirement or death of the historical figure—are recorded in the corresponding levels of local gazetteers, and whether any place names are anachronistic.

P (Personnel): Personal Relationships

This dimension examines the evidential status of interpersonal relationships from two complementary perspectives: first, by comparing the documentary density of the target individual with that of contemporaries from the same locality and of the same or even lower official rank; and second, by determining whether the documentary records of the genuine

historical figures mentioned in the narrative contain any cross-references to the target individual.

H (Hierarchy): Official and Administrative Institutions

This dimension examines whether the official titles, administrative affiliations, qualification requirements, appointment procedures, and eligibility criteria described in the narrative conform to the institutional norms of the historical period concerned. It constitutes the principal dimension through which deductive negation is generated.

I (Inheritance): Textual Genealogy

This dimension examines the sources, developmental trajectory, and methods of construction of the narrative text, including evidence of systematic textual collage, documentary discontinuities resulting from the false attribution of external authority, and the systematic direction of textual revision across different stages of textual transmission.

M (Multi-source Corroboration)

Following the criteria for identifying independent documentary systems and the three conditions governing the transformation of documentary silence into counter-evidence established in Section 3.9, this dimension examines whether the target individual remains consistently absent from multiple documentary systems generated through mutually independent mechanisms.

T (Time-rigidity): Temporal Rigidity

This dimension examines whether the key chronological points in the narrative correspond to historical facts supported by multiple independent documentary sources. Particular attention is paid to identifying "spatiotemporal deadlocks," namely situations in which the contradiction between the narrative and established historical coordinates remains irreconcilable regardless of how chronological discrepancies are adjusted.

L (Logic-stress): Logical Stress

This dimension examines whether the actions attributed to historical actors in the narrative conform to institutional logic, military logic, and basic practical reasoning. Particular care must be taken to distinguish between "rare but historically possible exceptional decisions" and actions that are "virtually impossible to explain rationally within the institutional and military context of the period." Only the latter constitutes a strong negative indicator within this dimension.

7.2.3 The Three-Level Mechanism of Evaluation

The seven dimensions, according to their negating force and logical status, are distributed across three distinct levels, each performing a different function within the overall structure of adjudication. The core design principle of the framework is to preserve the heterogeneity of evidence and allow different categories of evidence to perform their appropriate argumentative functions within their proper logical positions, rather than mechanically reducing heterogeneous evidence to homogeneous units for quantitative accumulation.

Level One: Independently Sufficient Conditions (Rigid Negation Type)

This level contains deductive evidence possessing the strongest negating force and capable of independently supporting a negative conclusion. The criterion is that the evidence, once established, can independently generate a decisive negative judgment without requiring support from other dimensions. This level includes the following three independently sufficient conditions:

[R1] Institutional Impossibility under the Extant Historical Record (Corresponding to the H + I + L Dimensions)

Question of examination: Do the administrative divisions, administrative evolution, institutional organization and staffing, official titles, appointment procedures, and eligibility qualifications described in the narrative contain any rigid contradictions within the administrative and official institutional framework of the relevant dynasty?

Operational standard: A clear distinction must be maintained between "absence of institutional support" and "rare but historically possible cases." Only the former satisfies this condition. The evaluation must cite explicit institutional historical sources demonstrating a logically irreconcilable contradiction between the narrative elements and the institutional framework rather than merely indicating historical rarity.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. Chapter 2 has already demonstrated five rigid institutional contradictions: the cross-dynastic conflation of official titles; the complete absence of supporting evidence within the Song institutional and documentary framework (Sections 2.1–2.2); the contradiction implied by the simultaneous existence of two Judicial Intendants within the same institutional structure (Sections 2.1, 2.3, 2.4 and 3.2); Deng Deyu's lack of authority to recommend officials of equivalent rank through memorial nomination procedures (Points 1 and 5 of Section 2.4); and Zhong Yiwan's lack of educational credentials, bureaucratic qualifications, and minimum legal eligibility for appointment while still a "commoner (baiyi 白衣)" (Section 2.4). Before the Southern Song lost control of Guangxi, the office of Guangxi Judicial Intendant never constituted a keque (窠阙) in the institutional sense. Accordingly, there existed no institutional prerequisite for Zhong Yiwan to be appointed to this office (Section 2.3; Point 5 of Section 2.4; Sections 3.4 and 3.6). All five constitute rigid institutional contradictions unsupported by the extant institutional and documentary system rather than rare historical exceptions. Furthermore, the *Mubiao*'s separation of "Tanzhou" and "Changsha" into two successive locations, as discussed in Section 4.3, is not merely a geographical error but a composite distortion simultaneously involving the institutional dimension (H), the textual dimension (I), and the logical dimension (L), thereby forming a complementary corroboration with the multiple institutional contradictions discussed above.

[R2] Self-Negation by the Falsely Attributed Author (Corresponding to the Intersection of the I + P Dimensions)

Question of examination: Does the external authority invoked by the narrative prove, upon examination, to maintain continuous silence regarding the core elements of the narrative within that authority figure's own extant writings, or even contain records directly contradicting the narrative?

Operational standard: It must first be established that the cited works constitute reliably transmitted documents with clear textual lineage and minimal risk of loss. Furthermore, the possibility of accidental omission must be systematically excluded through multiple lines of analysis, including compilation mechanisms, kinship and commemorative conventions, inclusion patterns, comparative official status, geographical accessibility of information, internal textual cross-verification, and later supplementary compilations.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. The chronology claimed by the Zhong genealogy for the composition of the *Mubiao* in 1376 already collapses at the logical starting point because of the chronological paradox involving Chen Lian's age, as discussed in the conclusion to Section 3.8 and Section 5.4. The Zhong genealogy claims that Chen Lian (1370–1454) authored the "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*," yet the *Mubiao* does not appear in the *Qinxuan Ji*, first printed during Chen Lian's lifetime in the sixth year of the Zhengtong reign. The roster of Judicial Intendants in the *Guilin Commandery Gazetteer* (桂林郡志), compiled by Chen Lian, the very person purported to be the author of the *Mubiao*, contains no record of Zhong Yiwan—a lacuna that constitutes the core evidence of "self-refutation by the falsely attributed author.", while the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* records the fellow townsman Xiong Fei in detail but contains no reference to Zhong Yiwan. Through six layers of systematic demonstration excluding the possibility of accidental omission, the

logical closed loop of "self-negation by the falsely attributed author" is fully established (see Sections 3.5, 3.6.3, and 3.9.3 for details).

Furthermore, the residential place-name "Dongning Township (Dongning Xiang 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*), Xi'an Fort (Xi'an Bao 西岸堡)" appearing in the *Mubiao* also constitutes an independent supplementary argument for R2. This toponymic designation entails a three-tier anachronism (two place-names plus one administrative hierarchy): first, only "Dongning" (Dongning Xiang 東寧鄉) existed in the Ming dynasty, and the variant "Dongning" (Dongning Xiang 東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*) does not appear in documentary sources until the twentieth year of the Guangxu reign (1894); second, "Xi'an Fort" (Xi'an Bao 西岸堡) is unattested in early Ming records, and moreover, in early Ming Guangxi, the bao (fort) was exclusively a military installation and did not function as a civilian registered settlement toponym; and third, the administrative subordination of a bao to a xiang (township)—whereas no such "xiang-bao" hierarchical relationship existed in the Ming administrative system, the bao having only been transformed into a civil administrative unit after the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns of the Qing dynasty. This three-tier anachronism places the *Mubiao*'s claimed date of composition in 1376 in irreconcilable conflict with the documented historical evolution of place names, administrative functions, and territorial hierarchies, independently demonstrating from the dimensions of geographical and administrative information that the text cannot have originated in the year it claims. This evidence is logically independent of, yet mutually corroborative with, the Chen Lian age paradox, since Chen Lian was only five and a half years old in 1376. Together, the two lines of evidence reinforce the argumentative structure of R2 (see Section 3.8). Furthermore, the institutional misreading of the shared urban administrative structure of Tanzhou and Changsha found in the *Mubiao* (Section 4.3), together with the three-tier anachronism of the place-name and administrative hierarchy "Dongning Township (Dongning Xiang 東凝鄉,

Guangxu-era form), Xi'an Fort (Xi'an Bao 西岸堡)" both constitute forms of internal deductive evidence within the text itself. These two lines of evidence are logically independent yet mutually reinforcing, further strengthening the conclusion that the *Mubiao* is a text of later provenance.

In addition, the account that Xiong Fei died in battle at Shaozhou in the *Zhan Shaoyang* (juan 5 of Chen Lian's *Qinxuan Ji*) directly contradicts both the narrative recorded in the *Mubiao* and the CPPCC website's explicit statement that "Xiong Fei died in battle in Guangzhou." This constitutes self-refutation within the content of the falsely attributed author's own writings and, together with the chronological paradox, the official-status paradox, and the toponymic anachronism discussed above, jointly reinforces the R2 argumentative framework (see Section 5.4 for details).

[R3] Spatiotemporal Deadlock (Corresponding to the Combined T + L Dimensions)

Question of examination: Have multiple independent historical sources already demonstrated that the chronological premises underlying the key actions described in the narrative—such as whether the relief target had not yet raised troops, whether the destination was still under Song control, and whether the departure point had not yet fallen—were impossible at the claimed point in time, and does the contradiction remain irreconcilable under every reasonable chronological correction?

Operational standard: A distinction must be maintained between "simple chronological error" and "irreconcilable chronological deadlock after correction." If the narrative becomes logically coherent after reasonable chronological adjustment, the case belongs to the former category. Only when contradictions remain irreconcilable after all reasonable corrections does the condition become established.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. The narrative dates the fall of Changsha to 1278, whereas the historical event occurred in 1276. Even after correcting the

entire chronological framework to align with the historical record, Cangwu had already fallen in February 1276, Guangzhou did not fall until June of the same year, and Xiong Fei had not yet initiated military resistance at that time. All three historical coordinates are independently corroborated by multiple sources. Consequently, the narrative of "reinforcing Xiong Fei in Guangzhou from Cangwu" remains impossible under any chronological correction and therefore constitutes an irreconcilable spatiotemporal deadlock. Likewise, the claim that "after the Yuan forces had captured Changsha in the first year of the Deyou reign, plunging the surrounding prefectures into turmoil, Zhong Yiwan defended the area so effectively that the populace was able to live in peace and security, and that the Yuan forces captured Tanzhou again in the following year" belongs to the same category (see Chapter 4 for details).

Summary of Level One: The three independently sufficient conditions are based upon mutually independent mechanisms of argumentation. R1 derives from the internal logic of institutional history, R2 derives from counter-evidence produced by the narrative's own claimed authority, and R3 derives from independently corroborated historical chronological coordinates. The three forms of refutation are therefore logically independent of one another. Level One alone already constitutes sufficient refutation of the Zhong Yiwan narrative through three mutually independent argumentative pathways. The examinations at Levels Two and Three, in this case, serve to deepen the argumentation and reveal the mechanisms of construction.

Level Two: Cumulatively Reinforcing Conditions (Structural Corroboration Type)

This level consists of inductive evidence whose negating force is limited when presented independently but which may mutually corroborate one another and cumulatively strengthen a negative conclusion. The convergent force of these conditions depends upon whether the sources of evidence are independent in terms of their mechanisms of generation and whether their respective negating implications consistently point in the same direction.

This level operates according to a logic of convergence rather than mechanical accumulation. What matters is not the number of satisfied conditions but rather the independence of evidence sources and the consistency of their negating implications. This level includes the following four categories of conditions:

[C1] Structural Absence across Multiple Documentary Systems (Corresponding to the Combined M + G Dimensions)

Requirement of examination: The target figure must remain continuously absent across multiple documentary systems after the independence of those systems has been defined and potentially dependent relationships have been conservatively treated. At the same time, contemporaneous figures from the same region and of the same or even lower status must possess explicit documentary records, thereby producing an "anomaly in same-level comparison." The three criteria for transforming documentary silence into counter-evidence defined in Section 3.9 must be rigorously applied. Possible alternative explanations, including documentary loss, regional bias, and period-based selectivity, must be individually evaluated and excluded.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. Across thirteen independent documentary systems spanning Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hunan, and encompassing official dynastic histories, inscriptions, provincial gazetteers, prefectural gazetteers, departmental gazetteers, county gazetteers, and personal literary collections, Zhong Yiwan remains entirely absent from the historical record. Contemporary imperial examination candidates (juzi), such as Quan Qi'ao and Liang Miyuan, all possess explicit documentary records. Even Xiong Fei, who held no official office, appears in five separate records. By contrast, Zhong Yiwan, who is claimed to have served as a lu-level Judicial Intendant, possesses no documentary record whatsoever. At the level of empirical comparison, this constitutes an extreme anomaly (see Chapter 3 for details).

[C2] Absence of Cross-References among Historical Figures (Corresponding to the P Dimension)

Requirement of examination: The narrative claims that the target figure maintained close collaborative relationships with several genuine historical figures, yet no cross-reference to the target figure appears in the documentary records or related historical materials of those figures themselves, and this absence cannot be explained through reasonable alternative explanations.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. *History of Song* ("Biography of Deng Deyu") and the *Stele of Loyalty and Merit* (忠功碑) contain detailed accounts of anti-Yuan resistance in Yulin during the first and second years of the Deyou reign period (1275–1276). The principal figures recorded are Deng Deyu, Chen Ying, Quan Qi'ao, and Liang Miyuan, with no trace of Zhong Yiwan. The Stele explicitly identifies Chen Ying as Deng Deyu's principal collaborator, directly contradicting the narrative of a long-term working relationship between Deng Deyu and Zhong Yiwan. Cross-referencing the Judicial Intendant rosters in the *General Gazetteer of Guangxi* and the Guilin Prefecture Gazetteer, together with the institutional rule of "one Judicial Intendant per circuit," directly refutes the claim that Zhong Yiwan ever held this position. Sources concerning Xiong Fei—including the *General Gazetteer of Guangdong*, the *Dongguan County Gazetteer*, and the *Qinxuan Ji*—likewise contain no trace of Zhong Yiwan (see Sections 3.3 and 3.9.2 for details).

[C3] Clear Traces of Textual Construction (Corresponding to the I Dimension)

Requirement of examination: The concrete origins of narrative materials must be identifiable, including adaptation, transplantation, and collage derived from authentic historical sources. It must also be possible to trace systematic patterns of revision across different levels of transmission, with the direction of revision consistently tending toward the avoidance of refutation and the simulation of institutional plausibility.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. Seven layers of “halo appropriation” can be clearly traced to identifiable historical source materials. These include the refusal-to-surrender episode, the Ma Ji defection narrative, the reinforcement of Guangzhou, and the retreat into seclusion in Yulin, all of which possess identifiable antecedent source materials in authentic historical records. Furthermore, the three-level textual trajectory from the Zhong narrative to encyclopedia entry to CPPCC website exhibits a systematic pattern of revision. Modifications concerning official titles, chronological points, and qualification background are all demonstrably traceable. Narrative versions presented to different audiences during different periods exhibit fundamental discrepancies (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2 for details).

[C4] Internal Contradictions in the Logic of Action (Corresponding to the L Dimension)

Requirement of examination: The actions described in the narrative must contain clearly identifiable internal paradoxes in terms of institutional responsibility, military deployment principles, or basic practical logic, and such paradoxes must be incapable of reconciliation through reasonable supplementation of historical facts. Careful distinction must be maintained between “rare unconventional decisions in history” and actions that are “nearly impossible to explain rationally within the historical environment of the time.” Evaluation must be conducted in conjunction with evidence from other levels in order to avoid unfairly judging historical actors through retrospective hindsight.

Evaluation in the Zhong Yiwan case: Established. Yulin had only just been recovered, while Cangwu was already in imminent danger. Deng Deyu himself lacked sufficient resources even for self-preservation. Under such circumstances, there existed no rational motivation for dispersing limited military forces hundreds of miles away to Guangzhou, where military conflict had not yet erupted. The claim of being “attacked from both front and rear” is chronologically untenable because the spatiotemporal contradiction demonstrated

under R3 already invalidates the sequence of events. The proposed reverse-direction military deployment violates the fundamental military geography of Guangdong and Guangxi during the late Song period. Moreover, Tanzhou and Changsha constituted a shared urban administrative structure, making the claim that Changsha had already fallen while Tanzhou had not yet fallen logically absurd. These four layers of logical paradox are all clearly identifiable and irreconcilable (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3 for details).

Summary of Level Two: The evidence sources underlying conditions C1 through C4 are mutually independent in terms of their mechanisms of generation, yet all consistently point toward the same negative conclusion. Their convergent force is therefore highly significant. On the basis that the three rigid negations of Level One have already been independently established, Level Two further reveals, at the empirical level, the complete mechanism of narrative construction, thereby providing the negative conclusion with multiple layers of independent support.

Level Three: Auxiliary Referential Conditions (Indicative Signal Type)

This level consists of narrative characteristics that possess only indicative significance when appearing independently and therefore require integrated evaluation in conjunction with evidence from the first two levels. These characteristics primarily include the following three categories:

Excessive completeness of narrative construction: Highly precise dates of birth and death, fully coherent chains of bureaucratic promotion, and systematically structured moral teachings and family instructions collectively display characteristics of retrospective construction rarely found in authentic historical documents. Genuine historical materials, because of their diverse origins and fragmented modes of preservation, are typically fragmentary rather than highly coherent and logically self-contained narrative arcs.

Systematic strategies of ambiguity: These include spatial drift, in which multiple locations are conflated to create barriers to verification; eventual ambiguity, the absence of a stable narrative core, with the key contents of the *Mubiao* being continuously reconstructed; interpersonal ambiguity, in which genuine historical figures are selectively appropriated through "halo appropriation" while direct comparison with their documentary records is simultaneously avoided; and the narrative strategy of "always being en route," in which key events invariably conclude immediately before the protagonist's arrival, thereby evading direct documentary verification.

Selective patterns of informational addition and deletion during transmission: Fundamentally different versions of the narrative are presented to different audiences across different stages of transmission, while the direction of informational addition and deletion consistently aligns with strategies designed to avoid refutable details.

Conditions at the third level cannot independently support any negative conclusion. Their function lies in further revealing the specific mechanisms of narrative construction after negative conclusions have already been established through the first and second levels, thereby enriching the depth of analysis. Alternatively, when a case remains in a condition of unresolved doubt, the signals provided by the third level may indicate important directions for future investigation.

7.2.4 Comprehensive Adjudication Procedures and Standards for Conclusion Classification

Based on the above three-level mechanism, comprehensive adjudication follows the procedures below rather than relying upon any preset numerical thresholds:

Step 1: Prioritize completion of the Level-One Rigid Negation Examination. If any one of R1, R2, or R3 is established, a deductive negation is formed within the corresponding dimension. At that point, the narrative is logically refuted within that dimension, and no

supplementary evidence from Level Two is required. The purpose of continuing the examinations at Levels Two and Three is to deepen the argument at the empirical level and reveal the mechanisms of narrative construction, rather than to provide additional necessary conditions for the rigid negation.

Step 2: Complete the Level-Two Convergent Negation Examination. Evaluate the validity of conditions C1 through C4, with particular attention to the independence of evidence sources among the established conditions and the consistency of their negating implications.

Step 3: Refer to the auxiliary signals of Level Three. On the basis of the first two steps, evaluate whether the auxiliary signals are consistent with the conclusions reached in the previous levels and incorporate them into the analysis of narrative construction mechanisms, rather than treating them as independent grounds for adjudication.

Step 4: Make a comprehensive adjudication based on the results of the first two levels of examination, and classify the case into the following four categories.

Table 8. Comprehensive Adjudication Standards for the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives

Judgment Conclusion	Establishment Conditions	Methodological Meaning and Operational Requirements
Definitive Rejection	At least one item in the first level is independently valid, and at least two items in the second level point to the same conclusion based on mutually independent documents.	The cross-refutation of the conclusion by multiple layers of independent evidence provides sufficient support, and the strength of the argument meets the prevailing standard for “Definitive Rejection” in the field of historical research. The research report must present the independent basis and logical position of each piece of evidence in a layered manner, rather than merely stating the conclusion.
Highly Probable Constructed Historical Narrative	No items were found in the first level, but three or more items in the second level consistently pointed	The existing inductive evidence points in a clear direction, but it has not yet been supported by a rigid deductive refutation. It is necessary to clearly indicate “further

Judgment Conclusion	Establishment Conditions	Methodological Meaning and Operational Requirements
	to negation based on independent literature, and there were significant warning signals in the third level.	verification required" and specify what type of supplementary evidence is needed to achieve a Definitive Rejection.
Questionable, pending further investigation.	There are one or two points of doubt in the second level, but no items in the first level are valid, and the remaining items in the second level do not have a clear negative indication.	The existing evidence is insufficient to support a negative conclusion; an open attitude should be maintained, and relevant literature should continue to be collected. The direction of evidence needed for further research must be clearly indicated to avoid using "doubt" as a guise for denial.
Provisionally Credible	There are no explicit negative signals at any level, and the content of the narrative is basically compatible with the literature system of the same period.	This determination is not equivalent to "complete confirmation"; the final confirmation of historical narratives still requires the accumulation of positive evidence. The verification status of each dimension must be explained so that subsequent research can assess its reliability boundaries.

It should be particularly emphasized that expressions such as "at least one condition" and "at least two conditions" in the above adjudication standards are not forms of mechanical numerical counting, but rather operationalized formulations of the substantive requirement that convergent multi-dimensional indications be formed on the basis of mutually independent evidence. In practical application, researchers must still exercise professional judgment regarding the independence and negating force of each condition and may not substitute the mere satisfaction of quantitative requirements for a rigorous assessment of evidentiary substance.

7.2.5 Systematic Examination of the Zhong Yiwan Case: An Illustrative Application of the Framework

Based on the three-tier mechanism established above, the Zhong Yiwan case is systematically examined below in order to illustrate the specific operational logic of the framework (see Table 9).

Table 9. Application of the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework to the Zhong Yiwan Case

Tier	Dimension	Corresponding Condition	Evidentiary Status	Supporting Sections
Tier One	H. Official and Administrative Institutions	R1	Rigid negation—independently established	2, 4.3
Tier One	I-a. Pseudo-Attribution Rupture and Textual Derivation	R2	Rigid negation—independently established	3.5, 3.6.3, 3.8, 3.9.3, 5.4
Tier One	T. Temporal Rigidity	R3	Rigid negation—independently established	4
Tier Two	M+G. Structural Absence across Multiple Documentary Systems	C1	Convergent strong negation—multi-source consistency	3
Tier Two	P. Cross-References among Historical Figures	C2	Convergent strong negation—multi-source consistency	3.3, 3.5, 3.7, 3.8,3.9.2
Tier Two	I-b. Textual Construction Mechanisms	C3	Convergent strong negation—clear mechanisms	5
Tier Two	L. Logical Stress	C4	Convergent strong negation—significant contradictions	4.2, 4.3
Tier Three	Auxiliary Signals	—	Indicative signals—reinforcing the judgment	5, 6

Comprehensive Adjudication: All three conditions at Tier One are independently established; all four conditions at Tier Two converge toward negation on the basis of

mutually independent documentary evidence; and the auxiliary signals at Tier Three are clear. According to the adjudication procedures of this framework, the narrative of Zhong Yiwan as an anti-Yuan Judicial Intendant is comprehensively adjudicated as a Definitive Rejection. That is, under the currently available evidentiary conditions, this narrative lacks a verifiable historical foundation, and its mode of construction closely corresponds to the typical mechanisms through which lineages since the Ming and Qing dynasties produced "ancestral capital."

7.2.6 Scope of Applicability and Methodological Limitations of the Framework

(I) Scope of Applicability

This framework is primarily applicable to the following types of historical narrative examination: local lineage narratives from the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties involving figures claimed to have held official office and participated in major historical events; records concerning figures engaged in cross-regional and cross-dynastic activities; lineage-history narratives possessing a certain degree of documentary circulation yet exhibiting systematic doubts; and constructed narrative cases requiring systematic argumentation rather than refutation through a single historical source.

(II) Cases to Which the Framework Is Not Applicable

This framework is not applicable to the following situations. First, cases dating too far back in time, particularly prior to the Han-Tang period, in which the preservation of the relevant documentary systems is insufficient to support the criteria of Level Two adjudication. Second, family memories concerning ordinary commoners, since such individuals would not ordinarily be expected to leave records in official documentary systems, and therefore "zero documentation" does not constitute any anomaly. Third, purely folkloric legends and oral traditions, since such narratives are not themselves oriented toward historical authenticity and therefore require different analytical frameworks. Fourth, real historical figures already

supported by sufficient positive historical evidence, for whom the reliability of the positive evidence should first be evaluated before applying the present framework.

(III) Boundaries of Subjective Control

This framework cannot completely eliminate the involvement of researchers' subjective judgment, but its hierarchical structure constrains subjectivity within a controllable range. Adjudication at Level One relies upon the rigid provisions and logical implications of institutional-historical documentation and therefore possesses the highest degree of objectivity, making convergence among different researchers comparatively likely. Level Two involves judgments regarding documentary independence and negating force and therefore retains a certain degree of interpretive subjectivity. Researchers should explicitly disclose in their work the basis upon which the independence of each item of evidence is established so that such judgments may be subjected to scholarly scrutiny. Level Three relies entirely upon researchers' interpretive judgment and does not independently support conclusions. When applying this framework, researchers should adhere to the following principles: disclose the specific adjudicative basis for each level rather than merely presenting conclusions; make conservative estimates regarding documentary independence and documentary completeness rather than adopting optimistic assumptions; distinguish between the mere quantitative fulfillment of Level-Two convergent conditions and the substantive quality of the evidence itself, with the former never substituting for the latter; maintain openness toward newly discovered evidence and clearly specify what types of positive evidence would be sufficient to overturn existing judgments; and strictly distinguish between academic criticism and moral condemnation, since the function of the framework is to clarify historical authenticity rather than to render moral judgment upon relevant individuals or groups.

(IV) Documentary Completeness as a Limiting Premise

The negating force of the Level-Two C1 condition, namely sustained silence across multiple documentary systems, presupposes the relative completeness of the relevant documentary traditions. During the Song–Yuan transition, frequent warfare inevitably resulted in documentary loss. This study partially controlled for that risk by introducing mechanisms of “peer-level comparison” and “multi-source cross-verification,” but it cannot completely eliminate the impact of extreme scenarios of documentary loss upon the reliability of this condition. Therefore, when the rigid negation conditions of Level One are not established, no case should be classified as a Definitive Rejection solely on the basis of C1.Within this framework, the negating force of the three independent and sufficient conditions at Level One (R1, R2, and R3) does not depend upon the completeness of documentary systems. This constitutes a key safeguard for the robustness of the framework’s argumentative structure.

(V) The Framework Requires Further Multi-Case Validation

This framework was inductively developed from the Zhong Yiwan case and, to date, has undergone systematic testing in only a single case study. Its applicability and adjudicative consistency across other cases remain subject to further research. Researchers applying this framework should regard its adjudicative conclusions as reference results derived from systematic examination rather than as authoritative determinations mechanically produced by the framework itself. The rigorous calibration of the framework’s conclusion-classification standards depends upon retrospective testing across a sufficiently large number of comparable cases, ideally no fewer than twenty, whose adjudicative conclusions have already been independently confirmed. Only through such cumulative testing can the actual correspondence between each adjudicative level and the final conclusions be properly evaluated.

7.2.7 Methodological Significance and Practical Value of the Framework

(I) The Organic Integration of Deduction and Induction

The central methodological contribution of this framework lies in its faithful reflection of the hybrid epistemological structure of historical narrative refutation: deductive rigid negation and inductive convergent negation are situated within their respective logical positions rather than being reduced to homogeneous numerical values. This methodological choice preserves the strength of the argument while avoiding the trap of "pseudo-precision," thereby ensuring that the framework's argumentative structure remains open to examination, criticism, and revision.

(II) An Argumentative Path from Isolated Evidentiary Doubt to Systematic Negation

Traditional genealogical criticism often remains confined to the level of "an isolated piece of evidence is insufficient" or "an isolated piece of evidence is questionable," making it difficult to elevate individual doubts into systematic negation. Through a seven-dimensional examination system spanning four analytical levels—institutional history, documentary systems, spatiotemporal logic, and textual construction—this framework provides an operational argumentative path advancing from "reasonable doubt" to "systematic exclusion." It thereby facilitates the integration of isolated suspicious signals into a multi-dimensional chain of evidence possessing substantial persuasive force.

(III) Potential for Cross-Disciplinary Practical Application

This framework may be applied in the following practical contexts. In academic research, it provides a systematic reference framework for the critical study of genealogies, inscriptions, and local documentary materials. In the field of cultural heritage authentication, it offers an operational framework for reviewing the historical authenticity of cultural heritage sites and protected units associated with historical figures. In the compilation of local gazetteers, it provides graded standards enabling historical compilers to evaluate genealogical

materials and oral historical sources. In the field of public history education, it helps audiences develop a basic critical awareness of whether local heroic narratives have undergone cross-verification through independent documentary evidence.

In summary, the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives is grounded in the empirical examination experience of the present study. Methodologically, it takes the “asymmetry of evidentiary roles” as its core principle and employs a structured examination path consisting of three levels and seven dimensions in order to balance systematic argumentation with the heterogeneity of evidentiary forms. The methodological limitations of the framework have been candidly explained in Section 7.2.6, while its formal calibration awaits further accumulation through future research. The academic significance and broader implications of this framework will be discussed further in Section 7.4.

7.3 Methodological Boundaries and Future Evidence Evaluation: The Authenticity of Material Carriers

The Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework proposed in this study is designed to investigate how historical narratives are formed, transmitted, and socially validated through multi-dimensional analysis of institutions, chronology, geography, documentary sources, textual structures, personal networks, and mechanisms of narrative formation. The fundamental methodological premise of this framework is to treat extant documentary materials as objects of historical analysis and to determine whether a given historical narrative possesses institutional plausibility, chronological coherence, and documentary support through corroboration, mutual constraint, and mutual refutation among different types of historical sources. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that this analytical approach primarily addresses questions concerning textual authenticity and narrative

coherence, and its validity remains contingent upon the prerequisite assumption that the material carriers of the sources employed are themselves authentic.

In other words, the question addressed by this study is: “If the existing stele inscriptions, genealogical records, local documents, and related accounts were indeed produced in the historical periods to which they claim to belong, is the Zhong Yiwan narrative historically tenable on the basis of these materials?” A more fundamental question, namely, “whether these materials themselves are authentic material artifacts originating from their claimed historical periods,” belongs more properly to the fields of codicology, archaeology, epigraphy, and material authentication and provenance assessment. This question therefore extends beyond the direct analytical scope of the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework proposed in this study.

This methodological boundary requires particular clarification when dealing with stele inscriptions, genealogical records, and local historical traditions. In the context of traditional Chinese historical writing, textual transmission, reconstruction of collective memory, embellishment of lineage genealogies, and later retroactive supplementation have long been recognized as common phenomena. Consequently, no single category of source materials can be treated as an unmediated historical fact. This issue is especially significant for narratives that serve functions of identity construction, local identity formation, or lineage prestige, in which the possibility of later rewriting, elaboration, or even fabrication of relevant documents cannot be entirely excluded. Therefore, the analysis of historical materials requires not only close examination of textual content but also attention to their contexts of production, processes of transmission, and the provenance of their material carriers.

On this basis, this study proposes a preliminary principle concerning the authentication of future evidence. Any newly discovered textual or material evidence that seeks to revise or challenge the conclusions of this study, including newly presented stele

rubbings, inscriptional texts, genealogical records, or other artifacts claimed to substantiate Zhong Yiwan's Song-period official identity, should not be incorporated directly into the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework solely because of its status as a "new discovery" or because of its seemingly supportive content. Instead, such evidence should first undergo independent source criticism and material authenticity assessment, including, where appropriate, examination of transmission history, determination of date of production or compilation, analysis of inscriptional weathering patterns, investigation of stone material characteristics, and examination of paper and ink chronology, supplemented by relevant scientific authentication methods when necessary.

This procedure does not aim to dismiss the potential value of new evidence. Rather, it establishes a necessary evidentiary threshold for the incorporation of newly discovered materials into historical interpretation. Only after the provenance, chronology, and material authenticity of relevant sources have been sufficiently established should such materials become eligible for incorporation into the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework and undergo further analysis from institutional, chronological, spatial, textual, and narrative perspectives. In other words, the Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework addresses whether a historical narrative constructed upon authenticated sources is historically sustainable, whereas material authentication addresses whether a particular source possesses the necessary reliability to serve as a foundation for historical analysis.

Future research integrating epigraphic studies, archaeology, and materials science may provide independent material evidence beyond textual analysis through systematic investigation of relevant historical remains. The integration of textual criticism, source criticism, and material authentication therefore represents an important direction for future studies of historical narrative authenticity.

7.4 Academic and Social Significance

This study provides a standardized methodological framework for genealogical criticism. Building upon traditional methods of historical textual criticism, it constructs a Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives, elevating genealogical criticism from largely experiential judgment to a more standardized and structured form of assessment, while also providing a reference case for the critical examination of locally constructed historical narratives. The Zhong Yiwan case demonstrates the complete process through which a locally constructed narrative emerges, disseminates, and gradually becomes entrenched. It thereby provides cultural heritage and historical documentation institutions with a practical reference model involving prior verification, ongoing review during dissemination, and subsequent correction mechanisms. This study also demonstrates the possibility of integrating traditional historical textual criticism with modern interdisciplinary analytical approaches such as systems theory and information theory, thereby offering new methodological perspectives for historical research in the context of the digital humanities.

8. Conclusion

Based on evidence drawn from four dimensions—institutional history, documentary systems, spatiotemporal logic, and textual analysis—it can be determined that this narrative lacks sufficient support from verifiable historical evidence. Its formation mechanism more closely conforms to the narrative pattern through which lineage society since the Ming and Qing dynasties constructed ancestral prestige through genealogical writings.

The Seven-Dimensional Critical Examination Framework for Historical Narratives proposed in this study possesses both replicability and broader applicability. It may be applied in fields such as academic research, cultural heritage evaluation, local gazetteer

compilation, and public education, thereby providing an analytical tool for identifying and critically examining locally constructed historical narratives.

For the Zhong lineage, historical authenticity and the transmission of lineage culture are not inherently contradictory. On the contrary, it is precisely through distinguishing historical facts from later narrative constructions that the genuine historical trajectory of the lineage may be more clearly reconstructed. For example, the migration of the Yulin Zhong lineage during the Yuan–Ming transition, their participation in local development and construction, and their contributions to local culture are all authentic historical experiences worthy of further investigation and preservation. Lineage narratives detached from historical foundations ultimately possess fragile cultural value. Only when grounded in historical authenticity can family history attain a more enduring significance for cultural transmission. This may well constitute the most profound positive significance of academic refutation for the study of local history.

The value of evidential scholarship lies in the pursuit of historical truth. This study has drawn upon multiple forms of evidence for no purpose other than the pursuit of truth. It is hoped that these modest findings may provide a useful mirror for genealogical studies, local historical writing, and cultural heritage preservation, so that history may return to history itself, and truth may regain its proper dignity.

Appendix A: The "*Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao*" (宋提刑使宜萬公墓表) Recorded in the Yulin Zhong Clan Genealogy (玉林鍾氏聯譜)

Song Tixingshi Yiwan Gong Mubiao

(宋提刑使宜萬公墓表)

Chen Lian (陳璉), Professor of Guilin Prefecture (Guilin Fu Jiaoshou 廣西桂林府教授), native of Guangdong

The gentleman's taboo name was Daoliu (道六), and his courtesy name was Yiwan (宜萬).His ancestors were natives of Chayuan in the county. The ancestor of the Chayuan lineage was Liang, who held the Song honorary title Digonglang (迪功郎). Liang's son was Chengdao, who was the gentleman's great-great-great-grandfather. Chengdao's son was Xuehai, who was the gentleman's great-great-grandfather. Xuehai's son was Bochang, who was the gentleman's great-grandfather. Bochang's son was Xiang, who was the gentleman's grandfather. Xiang's son was Yujing, who was the gentleman's father. The gentleman had one elder brother, Longzhi Xiongwan, who continued to reside at Chayuan. Throughout his life, the gentleman upheld moral integrity, lived simply with few worldly pursuits, and did not compete for fame or advancement, possessing the bearing of an ancient gentleman. Deng Deyu (鄧得遇) of Qiongzhou greatly admired him and praised him as an outstanding man of Guangdong. When Deng Deyu served as Judicial Intendant of Guangyou (提刑廣右), he recruited the gentleman into his staff. The gentleman contributed greatly to the redress of unjust cases. During the Xianchun reign period (1265–1274), Deng Deyu was promoted to Jingjiang Jinglueshi (靜江經略使). He petitioned the court and appointed the gentleman to "tixing Quanzhou xingyu" (提刑全州刑獄).Upon assuming office, the gentleman inquired into the hardships of the local elders, abolished burdensome and harsh exactions, and within less than a month corrupt officials were suppressed and the region became peaceful. In Quanzhou, a merchant once lodged at a shop. The shopkeeper coveted the merchant's wealth, murdered him, and concealed the corpse within a double wall. The merchant's son brought a complaint before the authorities, but innocent persons were falsely implicated and arrested. The gentleman carefully investigated the matter, uncovered the truth, and punished the shopkeeper according to the law. The people were astonished and regarded him as godlike. In the first year of the Deyou reign (1275), the Yuan forces invaded Changsha. Deng Deyu

dispatched Ma Ji (馬驥) as reinforcement. The gentleman secretly wrote to Deng Deyu, strongly warning that Ma Ji was unpredictable and could not be entrusted with important responsibilities. Before long, Ma Ji indeed fled back in secret. Deng Deyu sighed in admiration of the gentleman's foresight. After the Yuan forces captured Changsha (長沙), the various prefectures fell into turmoil. The gentleman defended Quanzhou with effective measures, all the people of Quanzhou relied upon him for peace and security. The following year, the Yuan army captured Tanzhou (潭州). Hengzhou, Yongzhou, Chenzhou, Daozhou, and other prefectures successively fell. Alarmed, Deng Deyu issued a summons ordering the gentleman to come to Jingjiang and participate together in affairs of state. The defender of Quanzhou surrendered the city to the Yuan. The Yuan pingzhang Ariq Qaya (阿里海牙) stationed troops at Quanzhou and dispatched subordinate commanders toward Guangzhou. The gentleman said to Deng Deyu, "If the Yuan forces send a detached force downstream to Cangwu, we shall be attacked from both front and rear. We must urgently prepare against this." Deng Deyu fully agreed. However, he and Commander Ma Ji (馬暨) could not reconcile their views. He therefore handed over the seal of the Jinglue Commission to Ma Ji and ordered him to defend Jingjiang, while he himself led troops to garrison Cangwu. At that time, a commoner named Xiong Fei (熊飛) was raising a righteous militia in Guangzhou to resist the Yuan. Xiong Fei was a fellow villager of the gentleman. Deng Deyu secretly dispatched the gentleman by a byway to Guangzhou and agreed with Xiong Fei that he would follow with troops from the rear. However, by the time the gentleman arrived, Xiong Fei had already been defeated and killed, and Guangzhou had fallen into great chaos. At that time the gentleman had just lost his wife, and his child had only just begun to cut teeth. The gentleman secretly returned, took his young child with him, and prepared to flee to Cangwu. Just at that moment, Ma Ji lost Jingjiang. Deng Deyu retreated to Yulin Prefecture. Cangwu had already

been occupied by the Yuan general Tuo (脫).The gentleman struggled on to Yulin. Upon arriving, he found that Deng Deyu had already drowned himself in the Nanliu River. Yulin had already been occupied by the Yuan deputy commander Qi Zurong (齊祖榮).Yuan commanders such as Tuo Wenbuhua (脫溫不花) divided their troops and spread out in all directions, and all the prefectures and counties of Guangxi fell. The Song emperor submitted a memorial requesting surrender to the Yuan. The gentleman looked toward heaven and sighed, saying, "Nothing more can be done." He thereupon withdrew to Baichanquan (白瀍泉) at Xi'an Fort (西岸堡) in Dongning Township (東凝鄉, *Guangxu-era form*), Yulin Prefecture (鬱林州), where he reclaimed land and cultivated fields. He took a son from another lineage and raised him as his own, bestowing upon him a courtesy name, and had him work the fields. In recording years, he used only cyclical stem-and-branch dates and did not employ Yuan reign titles. In his later years he told his sons and grandsons:"It is my misfortune that I could not follow Deng Deyu into burial within the belly of fishes. If I should die, do not give me a lavish burial. So long as the Qiwoshi (奇渥氏) remains unextinguished, you must live out your lives as commoners." Soon afterward he died in the Yuanyou year, at the age of seventy-seven. His descendants carried out his final instructions and buried him at Niuqi Mountain. In the bingchen year of the Hongwu reign (1376), his grandsons and great-grandsons visited his tomb, raised the mound, and planted trees there. This accorded with ritual propriety. His first wife, nee Chen, was the sister of Chen Lian's great-grandfather (the kinship relationship referred to in Chinese as zengzugu 曾祖姑). She died in her native village in the first year of the Jingyan reign (1276) and was buried at Pangxie Mountain in Songzi Forest. She bore one son named Deming, and five grandsons: Shixiang, Shixian, Shiju, Shixuan, and Shirong. During the Yuan dynasty none of them entered official service, thereby carrying on the aspirations of their forebears. Now their descendants flourish like

jade ornaments and budding orchids. With the rise of the sagely ruler, all aspire to devote themselves to service in the world. Through the accumulated plans and legacy left by the gentleman, the family has gradually prospered and expanded, becoming recognized as a distinguished lineage and honored as a great clan for generations. All of this derives from the gentleman's enduring beneficence, whose influence has no end.

First month of the bingchen year of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign (January 1376).

Appendix B: Records of Zhong Yiwan's Cemetery

Zhong Daoliu (鍾道六), courtesy name Yiwan (宜萬), was born in the Dingyou year of the Jiaxi reign of the Southern Song dynasty (1237) and died in the Jiayin year of the Yanyou reign of Emperor Renzong of the Yuan dynasty (1314) at the age of seventy-seven. He was married to a woman of the Chen family. He had one son, Deming, styled Fengyang, and an adopted son named Deyang. His ancestral home was Chayuan Village, Dongguan, Guangdong. The gentleman was upright in character, frank in disposition, open and honorable in conduct, concerned for the state and the people, uninterested in fame and profit, and possessed the bearing of an ancient gentleman. In 1262, Deng Deyu, Guangzhou Lu Tixingshi (廣州路提刑使), recognized the gentleman's character and virtue and recruited him into his service. In suppressing local bandit rebellions, the gentleman carried out his duties conscientiously and earned Deng's high regard.

In 1270, Deng was transferred by imperial order to serve as Jinglueshi of Guilin. Deng submitted a memorial to the court recommending the gentleman's abilities, and the gentleman was appointed Guangxi Quanzhou Lu Tixingshi Si (廣西全州路提刑使司). After assuming office, the gentleman frequently went among the people to observe local conditions, cared about their hardships, abolished oppressive taxes and levies, severely punished

criminals, and suppressed bandits within the territory. Within only a few months, public order was restored and the people lived in peace and contentment. One day, while away from his office, someone came alone to seek redress for a grievance. The gentleman reopened the case. Previously, a merchant had lodged at a shop in Quanzhou. The shopkeeper murdered the merchant and concealed the body within a cavity inside a double wall. The merchant's son brought a complaint before the authorities, but the officials accepted bribes and instead made false accusations. After extensive investigation, the gentleman uncovered the truth and executed the shopkeeper according to the law, thereby winning the support of the people.

In 1275, Yuan forces attacked Changsha. Deng dispatched Ma Ji (馬驥) and the gentleman to lead a relief force. While discussing military strategy with Ma Ji (馬驥), the gentleman discovered that Ma Ji (馬驥) was afraid of death and harbored improper intentions. He wrote a secret letter to Deng, stating that Ma Ji (馬驥) could not be entrusted with important responsibilities. The gentleman then led troops in the relief effort, fought bravely and skillfully, and repelled the Yuan forces. As expected, Ma Ji (馬驥) later deserted. Deng admired the gentleman's foresight.

In 1278, Changsha and Hengyang fell in succession, and the Yuan army showed signs of advancing directly into Guangxi. Deng summoned the gentleman to Guilin to discuss strategies for resisting the Yuan. The gentleman arrived at Guilin. Quanzhou had fallen. The gentleman said to Deng:"If the Yuan army advances upon Cangwu, our forces will be attacked from both front and rear. We should make preparations." Deng agreed. He personally led troops to Cangwu to block the Yuan advance southward and left Ma Ji (馬塈) to defend Guilin.

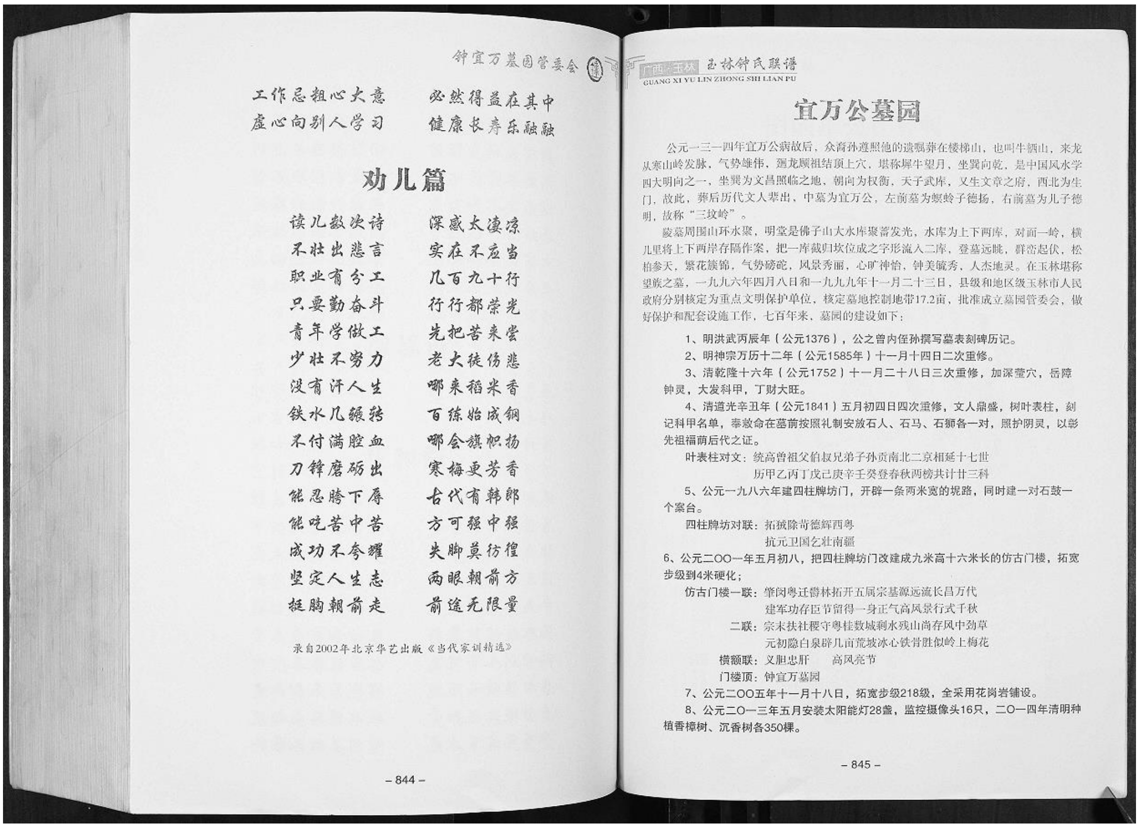
At that time, the peasant patriot Xiong Fei was leading resistance against the Yuan in Guangzhou. Knowing that the gentleman and Xiong Fei came from the same hometown, Deng sent the gentleman to assist him. The gentleman accepted the assignment and traveled

to Guangzhou. Xiong Fei died on the battlefield. Guangzhou fell into great disorder. With no alternative, the gentleman returned home. His wife of the Chen family had recently died and was buried at Pangxie Mountain in Songzi Forest of Chayuan Village. According to geomantic belief, a crab symbolizes numerous descendants, and the many descendants of the Zhong lineage in Yulin are regarded as confirmation of this belief. His son Deming had only just begun to cut his first teeth. The gentleman therefore took his young son and traveled day and night to Cangwu. At this time, Guilin and Cangwu also fell in succession. Deng retreated to Yulin. The gentleman hurried again to Yulin. Unable to defeat the Yuan army, Deng threw himself into the Nanliu River and sacrificed his life.

In 1279, the Song dynasty perished and the Yuan dynasty unified China. The gentleman looked up to heaven and sighed:"Nothing more can be done." He then withdrew into seclusion at Baichanquan, Xi'anbao, Dongning Township, Yulin, where he reclaimed wasteland and raised his son in cultivated fields situated in the hollow between the hills of Hanshan Ridge. At that time he was forty-two years old and had spent seventeen years in military service. Whenever he wrote dates, he refused to use Yuan reign titles and instead recorded only cyclical ganzhi designations. In his later years he instructed his sons and grandsons:"I regret that I could not share Deng's fate and be buried in the belly of fishes. If I should die, you must not bury me lavishly. So long as the Qiwoshi (奇渥氏, referring to the Yuan dynasty) remains unextinguished, you should live out your lives as commoners." He also said:"Fields may be cultivated but must not be abandoned. Books may be read but must not be used for the examinations." For this reason, members of the Zhong lineage in Yulin did not enter official service during the Yuan dynasty. Only after the Ming dynasty did they succeed in the examinations and enter government service. His descendants carried out his wishes and buried him at Louti Mountain. Chen Lian, a Professor of Guilin Prefecture and the gentleman's wife's brother's great-grandson, engraved the funerary inscription in 1376,

and it remains standing to this day. Sacrifices are offered in spring and autumn according to convenience. The seventeenth day of the ninth lunar month is observed as the anniversary of his birth.

Appendix C: Overview of Zhong Yiwan’s Cemetery as Recorded in the Zhong Family Genealogy



钟宜万墓园管委会

工作忌粗心大意　　必然得益在其中
虚心向别人学习　　健康长寿乐融融

劝儿篇

读儿数次诗　　深感太凄凉
不壮出悲言　　实在不应当
职业有分工　　几百九十行
只要勤奋斗　　行行都荣光
青年学做工　　先把苦来尝
少壮不努力　　老大徒伤悲
没有汗人生　　哪来稻米香
铁水几锻铸　　百练始成钢
不付满腔血　　哪会旗帜扬
刀锋磨砺出　　寒梅更芳香
能忍胯下辱　　古代有韩郎
能吃苦中苦　　方可强中强
成功不夸耀　　失脚莫彷徨
坚定人生志　　两眼朝前方
挺胸朝前走　　前途无限量

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GUANG XI YU LIN ZHONG SHI LIAN PU

宜万公墓园

公元一三一四年宜万公病故后，众裔孙遵照他的遗嘱葬在楼梯山，也叫牛栖山，来龙从寨山岭发脉，气势雄伟，廻龙顾祖结顶上穴，堪称犀牛望月，坐巽向乾，是中国风水学四大明向之一，坐巽为文昌照临之地，朝向为权衡，天子武库，又生文章之府，西北为生门，故此，葬后历代文人辈出，中墓为宜万公，左前墓为螟蛉子德扬，右前墓为儿子德明，故称“三坟岭”。

陵墓周围山环水聚，明堂是佛子山大水库聚蓄发光，水库为上下两库，对面一岭，横几里将上下两岸存隔作案，把一库截归坎位成之字形流入二库，登墓远眺，群峦起伏，松柏参天，繁花簇锦，气势磅礴，风景秀丽，心旷神怡，钟美毓秀，人杰地灵。在玉林堪称望族之墓，一九九六年四月八日和一九九九年十一月二十三日，县级和地区级玉林市人民政府分别核定为重点文明保护单位，核定墓地控制地带17.2亩，批准成立墓园管委会，做好保护和配套设施工作，七百年来，墓园的建设如下：

1、明洪武丙辰年（公元1376），公之曾内侄孙撰写墓表刻碑历记。

2、明神宗万历十二年（公元1585年）十一月十四日二次重修。

3、清乾隆十六年（公元1752）十一月二十八日三次重修，加深莹穴，岳障钟灵，大发科甲，丁财大旺。

4、清道光辛丑年（公元1841）五月初四日四次重修，文人鼎盛，树叶表柱，刻记科甲名单，奉敕命在墓前按照礼制安放石人、石马、石狮各一对，照护阴灵，以彰先祖福荫后代之证。

叶表柱对文：统高曾祖父伯叔兄弟子孙贡南北二京相延十七世
历甲乙丙丁戊己庚辛壬癸登春秋两榜共计廿三科

5、公元一九八六年建四柱牌坊门，开辟一条两米宽的坭路，同时建一对石鼓一个案台。

四柱牌坊对联：拓揻除苛德辉西粤
抗元卫国乞壮南疆

6、公元二OO一年五月初八，把四柱牌坊门改建成九米高十六米长的仿古门楼，拓宽步级到4米硬化；

仿古门楼一联：肇闵粤迁郁林拓开五属宗基源远流长昌万代
建军功存臣节留得一身正气高风景行式千秋
二联：宗末扶社稷守粤桂数城剩水残山尚存风中劲草
元初隐白泉辟几亩荒坡冰心铁骨胜似岭上梅花
横额联：义胆忠肝　　高风亮节
门楼顶：钟宜万墓园

7、公元二OO五年十一月十八日，拓宽步级218级，全采用花岗岩铺设。

8、公元二O一三年五月安装太阳能灯28盏，监控摄像头16只，二O一四年清明种植香樟树、沉香树各350棵。

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